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WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE:
A CASE STUDY OF
THE MANITOBA JOBS FUND

A report to the Government of Manitoba

Submitted by

The Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women

Prepared by:

Sheila Gordon

January 1987

FOREWORD

"Why do yet another study on Women in the Labour Force?", you might ask. This is a topic that has been the subject of a great deal of study over the last ten to fifteen years.

We have known for quite some time that women earn less than men earn. We know that women are clustered in lower-paying service jobs and under-represented in trades, technologies and management. And we know that there are barriers, such as the lack of child care, which inhibit women's entry into the workforce.

Canadian women know that equality in the paid labour force is a necessary factor in achieving equal status between men and women. Women have consistently documented the problems, gathered statistics, lobbied the politicians, and spoken out publicly on the importance of labour force equality.

So why another study on this issue? Although the understanding of this situation is widespread, there is little evidence that the impact on women is consistently taken into account in policy and program development.

In 1983, the Manitoba Government created a unique model to stimulate immediate job creation, called the Manitoba Jobs Fund. Following its introductory year, its objective expanded to include long-term jobs and economic development. The Manitoba Jobs Fund seeks to coordinate major provincial funds with negotiated commitments from the private sector and other levels of government. The intention has been to create a cooperative and targetted job creation and economic development strategy.

This report looks at the Manitoba Jobs Fund as a case study within the framework of women's labour force participation. The Manitoba Jobs Fund serves as a particularly important program for scrutiny as in recent years there has been a dramatic increase by governments across the country in the amount of public funds directed to job creation and economic development.

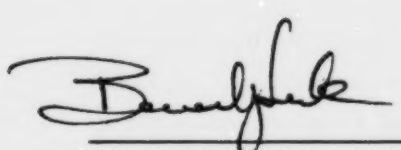
When the case study was undertaken the question was: "Has the Manitoba Jobs Fund contributed to the equality of women or has it maintained the status quo?".

It is our view that labour force initiatives like the Manitoba Jobs Fund have the capacity to advance women's labour force status. It is important -- no, essential -- that governments consider the differential impact of economic strategies on women. In order for government economic policies and programs to contribute to women's labour force equality, this objective must be part of the planning process, the implementation phase and the evaluation.

Women continue to be put in a position of documenting the results after the fact, and proving the same points over again through studies such as these. It makes more sense for the viewpoint of half the population to be evident in the beginning stages, in policy development, rather than critics after the fact.

A role of the Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women is to review the impact of government programs and policies on women. We trust that our analysis and recommendations on women in the labour force, and specifically, on the Manitoba Jobs Fund, will provide an opportunity for the Manitoba Government to build on its current equity initiatives. We look forward to the Manitoba Government providing leadership in developing an integrated model of job creation and economic development, where men and women share equitably in the economic benefits.

Sincerely,



Beverly Suek
Chairperson

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WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE: A CASE STUDY OF THE MANITOBA JOBS FUND

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1983, the Government of Manitoba announced the establishment of the Manitoba Jobs Fund (MJF). The MJF, with a dual focus on job creation programming and economic development, is seen as integral by the government to its long-term economic development strategy.

The focus of the MJF in its first phase, the fiscal year of 1983-84, was the immediate creation of short-term jobs for Manitobans. In the initial year of its second and current phase, 1984-85, the focus of the Fund shifted to the creation of new, permanent jobs and the enhanced stability and growth of the provincial economy.

In the first phase of the MJF, and in 1984-85, the Manitoba Government allocated to the Fund, $200 million and $210 million, respectively. Supplemental funds committed by municipal and federal governments and the private sector brought the total expenditure for the MJF in each year to over $300 million.

As the major provincial initiative in the areas of job creation and economic development, the MJF is of vital concern to women in Manitoba.

The Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women recently undertook a study of the impact on women of the MJF. The study covers the first phase of the Fund's operation, and the initial year of its second and current phase. The results of the study, together with an analysis of the MJF, are pres-

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ented in this report.

To provide a context for the assessment of the MJF, the report begins with a statistical overview of the position of women in the Canadian labour force. The overview demonstrates that in recent years, there have been remarkable changes in respect of women's labour force patterns and their labour force participation.

Until quite recently, women in their child-bearing years tended to drop out of the labour force for fairly long periods to raise children. Statistics indicate, however, that younger generations of women, those between the ages of 20 and 44 years, no longer follow this pattern. In fact, over 70% of women in this age category are now either working for pay or seeking to do so.

The labour force pattern of women with very young children has also changed dramatically in recent years. In contrast to women of previous generations, most new mothers are now returning to full-time work soon after the birth of children. Over one-half of all mothers with children under the age of three now work outside of their homes.

In spite of the increasing attachment of Canadian women to the paid labour force, they continue to be confined to a limited number of occupations and industries. For several decades, a majority of women workers have been concentrated in traditionally female occupations which tend to be low-paying with poor prospects for advancement.

Women are also overwhelmingly concentrated in the service sector of the economy. More than 84% of employed women in Canada held jobs in the service sector in 1985.

Women continue to earn low wages. On average, women working full-time for a full year earn only 66% of the average income earned by men.

The overview of women's position in the labour force is followed by an examination of the social, cultural and economic forces which serve to perpetuate women's secondary labour force status. Some of the more significant of

these include sex-specific socialization, women's family responsibilities and discrimination against women as paid workers.

A lack of adequate support measures, such as paid parental leave and quality, low-cost child care, presents barriers to the full and equal integration of women into the paid labour force.

Barriers to equality in employment may be further compounded by discrimination against women workers. Although overt discrimination against women by employers is now less common, systemic discrimination, that is, employment policies and practices which operate to exclude women, continues to be prevalent from the point of recruitment and hiring through to promotion.

Since November 1984, it has been the stated position of the Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women that to adequately address the labour force needs of women, decisive government action is necessary in the following three areas:

i) MANDATORY AFFIRMATIVE ACTION -- government must move beyond policies of equal opportunity to redress past discrimination and to ensure equality of results;

ii) PAY EQUITY -- because "women's work" is undervalued and underpaid and most women do not work at the same jobs as do men, pay equity legislation is required to close the wage gap between male and female workers; and

iii) JOB CREATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS MUST INCORPORATE THE ABOVE MEASURES.

THE MANITOBA JOBS FUND

In 1985, the Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women undertook a case study of the MJF. The impetus for the study arose from a recognition on the part of the Advisory Council that although employment-related initiatives, such as job creation and training programs, have the potential to

advance the labour force status of women, they tend, in practice, to benefit men and not women.

The results of the case study of the MJF confirm the fact that because it has not incorporated strategies such as affirmative action and pay equity, the MJF, like other initiatives of this kind, has served to reinforce rather than redress the inequalities experienced by women in the labour force.

During the period under study, the focus of the MJF on the primary and secondary sectors of the economy resulted in the under-representation of women employed through the Fund.

In the first phase of the MJF, 4,852 women were employed in MJF programs and projects compared to 16,394 men.

In 1984-85, 3,943 women gained employment through the MJF. In contrast, 12,388 men were employed through the Fund during this year.

Even though women comprise approximately 43% of the Manitoba labour force, and their unemployment rates parallel those of men, the above figures show that women held just less than 23% of all positions created by the Manitoba Jobs Fund in its first phase and 24% in 1984-85.

The relatively small percentage of women who gained employment through the MJF were overwhelmingly concentrated in low-paying, female job ghettos. In 1984-85, almost 60% of all female MJF participants were employed in clerical, sales and service occupations.

On average, women employed through the MJF earned an hourly wage that was less than one-half of that earned by their male counterparts.

Women have not been full partners in the economic development strategy of the Manitoba Government. The MJF, the major thrust of this strategy, has focused on the primary and secondary sectors of the economy -- where very few women work.

In order to ensure that both women and men share equitably in benefits derived through the MJF, the Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women submits to the Manitoba Government the following recommendations:

1. THAT THE MJF INCORPORATE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AS A CENTRAL COMPONENT OF ITS EMPLOYMENT STRATEGY;

2. THAT THE MJF ENSURE THAT TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY ARE MADE AVAILABLE TO WOMEN;

3. THAT THE MJF PLACE INCREASED EMPHASIS ON THE SERVICE SECTOR AND DEVELOP MEASURES TO ENSURE THAT WOMEN EMPLOYED THROUGH THE FUND ARE NOT CONCENTRATED IN LOW-LEVEL JOBS WITHIN THIS SECTOR; AND

4. THAT THE MJF DEVELOP AND IMPLEMENT A PAY EQUITY POLICY.

Central components of strategies for the implementation of the above recommendations are outlined in the report.

The report concludes by emphasizing that the inequitable impact of the MJF is not a phenomenon that is peculiar to this program, alone. It is the position of the Advisory Council that with the exception of those few policies and programs which are currently aimed at women, government initiatives in the area of training and employment tend to reinforce rather than redress the inequalities experienced by women in the labour force.

The Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women urges the Manitoba Government to take into serious consideration the impact on women of employment related policies and programs. If women are to become full and equal participants in the labour force, the Manitoba Government must take

measures to ensure that strategies to meet the needs of women are fully integrated into all labour force initiatives.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1983, the Government of Manitoba announced the establishment of the Manitoba Jobs Fund (MJF). The MJF, with a dual focus on job creation programming and the stability and growth of the provincial economy, is seen as integral by the government to its long-term economic development strategy.

As the major provincial initiative in the areas of job creation and economic development, the MJF is of vital concern to all Manitobans. It is the view of the Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women that the MJF is of particular concern to women in Manitoba for in the past, such initiatives have tended to be of primary benefit to men.

In 1985, the Advisory Council undertook a study of the impact on women of the MJF. The results of this study, together with an analysis of the MJF, are presented in Part IV of this report.

To provide a context for the assessment of the MJF, a statistical overview of the position of women in the Canadian labour force is presented in Part I. It should be noted that statistics documenting the labour force activity of women in Manitoba are not as complete as are Canadian statistics. Where Manitoba data are available, however, they are included along with Canadian data in tables contained in the appendix to this report.

In Part II of the report, a number of social, cultural and economic forces which serve to perpetuate women's disadvantaged position in the labour market are discussed. These include: socialization, in the family, the school system and the media; women's family responsibilities; discrimination against women as paid workers; and stereotyped views of women's economic need.

Part III includes a discussion of three labour force initiatives which are, in the view of the Advisory Council, essential components of a labour force strategy for women in Manitoba. Affirmative action and pay equity are first described. Job creation and training programs are then assessed to determine their impact on women. It is the position of the Advisory Council that job creation and training programs which incorporate affirmative action and pay equity represent the third essential component of an effective, comprehensive labour force strategy.

Part IV of the report is a case study of the MJF which covers the first phase of the Fund's operation, 1983-84; and the initial year of its second and current phase, 1984-85. This part of the report includes a description of the MJF, the results of the Advisory Council study and an analysis of the Fund in respect of women's employment.

The identification of specific problem areas within the MJF leads to recommendations to the Manitoba Government. These, together with central components of strategies for their implementation, are presented in Part V of the report.

I. WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE: A STATISTICAL OVERVIEW, CANADA

LABOUR FORCE

Since the end of the Second World War, women in Canada have entered the paid labour force at a dramatically increasing pace.

Between 1946 and 1985, the share that women comprised of the total Canadian labour force almost doubled, increasing from 22.7% to 42.6% (see Table 1). Women now make up over two-fifths of the Canadian labour force.

The above figures referring to the paid labour force include Canadians over the age of 15 years who are employed, either full-time or part-time, and those who are unemployed.[1]

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

The increasing involvement of women in the labour force can also be expressed in terms of labour force participation rates. These figures represent the percentage that women either working for pay, or seeking to do so, comprise of all women over the age of 15 years.

Between 1946 and 1985, the labour force participation rate of Canadian women more than doubled: it escalated from 25.3% to 54.3% (see Table 3). In short, over one-half of all Canadian women of working age are now either working for pay or seeking to do so.

i) Participation By Age

The aggregate labour force participation rate mentioned above conceals important differences in the participation rates of women of different generations, as well as the very high participation rates of women in specific age groups.

Until quite recently, women in their child-bearing years tended to drop out of the labour force for fairly long periods to raise children. Statistics indicate, however, that younger generations of women, those between the ages of 20 and 44 years, no longer follow this pattern.

Women between the ages of 20 and 24 years now show the highest labour force participation rate. As indicated in Table 5, although the aggregate participation rate of women was 54.3% in 1985, women between the ages of 20 and 24 years showed a participation rate of 74.9%. In other words, 75% of women in this age category now work for pay.

Women aged 25 to 34 years and 35 to 44 years also show high labour force participation rates. In 1985, approximately 70% of all women in these age groups were in the Canadian labour force.

Table 5 also indicates that the participation rate of women aged 25 to 44 years has been increasing steadily and at a faster pace than those of younger women and women over 55 years of age.

ii) Participation Of Women With Children

The labour force pattern of women with young children has also changed dramatically in recent years. In contrast to women of previous generations, most new mothers now return to paid work, often on a full-time basis, after only a brief period of maternity leave.

Labour force statistics demonstrate the recent and dramatic change in the labour force patterns of women with young children. As figures in Table 7 show, in 1975, only 31.2% of mothers with children under the age of 3 were in the labour force. In 1980, just over 40% of mothers in this category worked outside their homes. By 1985, this figure had escalated still further, reaching 53.9%. This means that a majority of mothers with very young children now participate in Canada's labour force.

DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION

Women in the Canadian labour force have long been concentrated in a disproportionately small number of occupations.

Census figures show that in 1951, almost 50% of all women in the Canadian labour force were located in only two of twelve occupations: clerical and service occupations.[2] In 1971, as indicated in Table 8, over 55% of women in the labour force were confined to clerical, sales and service occupations. By 1981, these same three occupations accounted for just over 60% of female labour force participation.

Although census figures are more accurate than figures obtained through the labour force survey, the latter provide more recent data.[3] Labour force figures contained in Table 10 show that in 1985, 60% of all women in the Canadian labour force were concentrated in clerical, sales and service occupations.

As mentioned earlier, figures referring to the labour force include Canadians over the age of 15 years who are employed, either full-time or part-time, and those who are unemployed. Labour force figures are distinguished from employment figures in that the latter refer only to Canadians of working age who actually held paying jobs during the reference year. Employment figures for 1985 reflect the same occupational concentration of women workers as do labour force figures, with 59% of all employed women in Canada holding jobs in clerical, sales and service occupations.[4]

Occupations that are dominated by men, such as processing, machining, product fabricating, construction trades, transport equipment operating, materials handling and other crafts and equipment operating, have together comprised only about 10% of female labour force participation over the past several years (see Tables 8 and 10).

DISTRIBUTION BY INDUSTRY

Women are under-represented in industries which comprise both the primary sector (agriculture; forestry; fishing; and mines) and the secondary sector (manufacturing; and construction). They are greatly over-represented in industries within the tertiary or service sector (transportation, communication; trade; finance, insurance and real estate; community, business and personal service; and public administration).

Census data displayed in Table 11 show that in 1951, 73% of all women in the Canadian labour force were located in the service sector. In 1971, almost 80% of women were found in this sector. By 1981, the proportion of women in service-producing industries had increased still further, reaching 81.7%.

In recent years, an increasing number of male workers have entered the service sector. Labour force data presented in Table 13 s ow that in 1985, service-producing industries accounted for 3,910,000 male workers, or just over 60% of all men in the Canadian labour force. Although a significant proportion of men are now located in the service sector and this, in itself, is an important phenomenon reflecting the recent trend toward a post-industrial economy, it must be recognized that the concentration of women in this sector is still significantly greater than that of men. In 1985, 4,070,000 women, or 83.6% of all female workers in the Canadian labour force, were concentrated in service-producing industries (see Table 12).

Employment figures referring to the industrial concentration of Canadian workers in 1985 are slightly different from labour force figures. During this year, 62% of all employed men and 84.4% of all employed women held jobs in the service sector.[5]

Over the past three decades, as employment in the primary sector has declined, less than 5% of the female labour force in Canada has found work in this sector. In 1985, the primary sector accounted for 2.2% of all women workers compared to 6.3% of male workers (see Tables 11, 12 and 13).

The proportion of the female labour force in manufacturing has declined steadily over the past three decades, dropping from 23.2% in 1951 to 15.2% in 1971 and 13.2% in 1981. The proportion of the male labour force in manufacturing has also declined during this period, but at a slower rate than that of women.[6] Labour force figures show that only 12.7% of all women in the Canadian labour force found work in manufacturing in 1985 compared to 24.2% of all men (see Tables 11, 12 and 13).

PART-TIME WORK

A higher percentage of women than men work part-time. While more than one-quarter (26.3%) of all paid jobs held by Canadian women are part-time, the same is true of only 7.6% of jobs held by male workers.[7]

Over 70% of all part-time workers in Canada are women.[8]

Prevailing notions about women as part-time workers suggest that these workers are predominantly women in their child-bearing years and women with very young children. Recent trends in this area demonstrate that these notions are unfounded.

Women in their child-bearing years, that is, those aged 25 to 44 years, show the lowest levels of part-time work when compared to women in other age categories. In 1985, just under 22% of these women were employed part-time (see Table 16). This contrasts with figures referring to young women, aged 15 to 24 years (36%); older women, aged 45 to 54 years (24.5%) and 55 to 64 years (26.9%) and women aged 65 years and older (50%). Figures in Table 16 also show that during the period from 1975 to 1985, women workers in their child-bearing years showed the smallest percentage increase in part-time work when compared to women workers in other age groups.

Women with very young children show similar levels of part-time employment when compared to those with older children. In 1985, 32.1% of women workers with children under 3 years worked part-time compared to 31.8% of women with children 3 to 5 years and 28.1% of those with children 6 to 15 years (see Table 17). This means that irrespective of the ages of their children, over two-thirds of all mothers in the Canadian labour force now work full-time. These figures, and those referring to the part-time employment of women aged 25 to 44 years, represent further evidence of the changing labour force patterns of Canadian women.

The majority of women working part-time are located in only two industrial sectors: trade; and community, business and personal service. As shown in Table 18, approximately 80% of all women working part-time have been

concentrated in these two sectors over the last five years.

Part-time work tends to be poorly paid. It is also characterized by inferior working conditions, few fringe benefits, little job security and decreased opportunity to unionize.[9]

Increasingly, women workers are being forced to take part-time work because they cannot find full-time employment. This phenomenon is reflected in statistics indicating worker reasons for part-time employment. As shown in Table 19, in 1980, 17% of all women employed part-time stated that they worked on a part-time basis because they were unable to find full-time work. By 1983, the year during which the economic recession was at its height, this percentage had escalated to 27.6%. Women's level of involuntary part-time employment has since remained fairly constant, at 27.8% in 1985.

As the primary reason for part-time work, an inability to find full-time employment was the only response for which figures showed a significant increase between 1980 and 1985. Indeed, the percentages of women in all other response categories actually decreased over this five year period. Of particular note, the percentage of women working part-time who identified family responsibilities as the primary reason for part-time employment dropped from 17.3% in 1980 to 12.7% in 1983 and 12.5% in 1985.

The above trend towards involuntary part-time employment has been experienced by men in the Canadian labour force as well as by women (see Table 19). However, because more women work part-time than do men, a much greater number of women workers have experienced this form of under-employment. In 1985, 351,000 women were involuntary part-time workers compared to 165,000 men.[10]

UNEMPLOYMENT

i) Unemployment/Unemployment Rates

From the late 1960's until 1981, women in Canada were disproportionately represented among the unemployed. That is, as shown in Table 20, the share that women comprised of total unemployment consistently exceeded women's share of the total labour force.

During this same period, the unemployment rate of women was consistently higher than that of men (see Table 21).

The female unemployment rate in Canada has, with few exceptions, increased steadily over the past several decades, reaching an alarming 11.6% at the height of the recession in 1983. By 1985, the unemployment rate of women had dropped slightly to 10.7%. This exceeded the male unemployment rate which was 10.3% in 1985.

ii) Unemployment and Age

Younger people tend to experience higher rates of unemployment than do older people. Figures in Table 22 show that in 1985, while Canadian women aged 25 years and older showed an unemployment rate of 9.4%, their younger counterparts experienced a higher rate of unemployment, at 14.6%.

During this same year, adult men showed an unemployment rate comparable to that of adult women, at 8.3%. Men under the age of 25 years, however, showed an unemployment rate of 18.2% in 1985. This was significantly higher than corresponding figures for both adult men and women, and women under the age of 25 years.

iii) Unemployment and Education

Rates of unemployment tend to decline as level of education increases. In 1985, unemployment rates were highest in respect of Canadians with less than eight years of schooling, at 13.8% for women and 12.7% for men.

In contrast, women and men with a university degree showed the lowest rates of unemployment in 1985, at 5.9% and 4.3% respectively (see Table 23).

iv) Unemployment and Occupation

Between 1975 and 1982, women were harder hit by unemployment than were men in every occupation group where there were enough women to make unemployment statistics reliable (see Table 25).

In 1983, at the height of the economic recession, the unemployment rates of both women and men escalated in every occupation group. During this year, as shown in Table 25, the unemployment rates of women were higher than those of men in thirteen of sixteen occupations.

During the recession, women who had previously sought and found employment in male-dominated occupations may well have been the last to be hired and the first to be fired. The adverse impact of the recession on the employment of women in such occupations is amply illustrated by the fact that in 1983, the unemployment rates of women exceeded those of men in the following four male-dominated occupation groups: natural science (women's unemployment rate was 9.8% compared to 7.6% for men); machining (women - 25.9% versus men - 19.5%); transport equipment operating (women - 15.3% versus men - 13.5%) and other crafts and equipment operating (women - 16.6% versus men - 6.6%).

Even in occupations in which women predominate such as teaching, medicine/health, clerical, sales and service occupations, women experienced higher unemployment rates during the recession than did men (see Table 25).

By 1985, although the unemployment rates of both women and men had dropped slightly from 1983 levels, the unemployment rates of women exceeded those of men in all but one occupation group.

v) Unemployment and Industry

Figures in Table 26 show that from 1975 to 1982, with the exception of

the construction industry, where very few women work, the unemployment rates of women in every industry were higher than those of their male counterparts.

In 1983, the unemployment rates of women were higher than those of men in the following four industries: manufacturing (women's unemployment rate was 14.8% compared to 12.5% for men); trade (women - 11.4% versus men - 10.8%); finance, insurance and real estate (women - 6.9% versus men - 5.1%) and public administration (women - 9.1% versus men - 7.0%).

In 1985, the unemployment rates of women exceeded those of men in agriculture as well as the four industries mentioned above. Women's unemployment rate in agriculture was 19.8% during this year compared to 16.3% for men (see Table 26).

vi) Duration of Unemployment

For both women and men, the duration of unemployment has increased as a result of the economic recession.

As shown in Table 27, from 1976 to 1981, it took between fourteen and sixteen weeks for unemployed workers to find work.

In 1983, the average duration of unemployment increased to almost twenty weeks for women and twenty-three weeks for men.

The average duration of unemployment has since remained at 1983 levels, indicating that the experience of unemployment for women and men has not improved significantly. Even though unemployment rates have dropped slightly, unemployed workers of both sexes continue to be without work for substantial periods.

HIDDEN UNEMPLOYMENT

The unemployment figures presented above are taken from labour force surveys conducted by Statistics Canada. A person is counted as unemployed by Statistics Canada if that person did not work during the survey week, was available for work and had looked for work during the previous four weeks.[11]

"Discouraged workers", or those who have given up looking for jobs, are not included in official unemployment statistics. These workers, many of whom are women, are often referred to as the "hidden unemployed".[12]

It is also important to emphasize that unemployment figures do not include the following: social assistance recipients who are listed as employable by social assistance workers, if suitable jobs and child care were available; part-time workers who would prefer full-time employment but cannot find it; and mothers who, according to surveys, would work if jobs and adequate child care could be secured.[13] It is clear that if the hidden unemployed were taken into account, the unemployment of women in Canada would far exceed current levels.

WAGES AND EARNINGS

Women in the paid labour force earn considerably less than do men. In 1975, women in Canada working full-time, full-year earned, on average, $8,231 per year, or 60% of average male earnings.[14] By 1984, the most recent year for which figures are available, the wage gap between women and men had narrowed little, with women earning $18,136 per year, or 66% of men's average income.[15]

In determining the wage gap between women and men, it is customary to compare figures that reflect the average earnings of full-time, full-year workers. This same calculation can be made, however, by comparing the average earnings of all female workers with those of all male workers. This comparison shows that women earn, on average, $11,949 per year or only 57% of average male earnings.[16] Because it includes the earnings of part-time workers and a higher percentage of women than men work part-time, this latter figure more accurately reflects the extent of the current earnings differential between female and male workers.

The earnings of women are often lower than those of men even when comparisons are made within the same or similar occupations. Table 28 contains the 1984 average weekly wage rates for women and men in similarly described office occupations in Canada. The wage rates of women were lower than those of men in all but two of the twenty-six office occupations listed. The greatest wage differential was experienced by cost clerks, with female cost clerks earning only 80.4% of the average weekly wage of male cost clerks.

SUMMARY

The labour force participation rates of women in Canada, particularly those of women between the ages of 20 and 44 years, have escalated recently and are fast approaching those of men. More than 70% of women in this age group are now either working for pay or seeking to do so.

The labour force pattern of women with very young children has also changed dramatically in recent years. In contrast to women of previous generations, most new mothers are now returning to full-time work soon after the birth of children. This indicates, in yet another way, the increasing commitment of women to the Canadian labour force.

In spite of recent changes in the labour force participation of women, the foregoing statistical overview shows that women's position in the work force has been and continues to be a seriously disadvantaged one.

Women continue to be confined to a disproportionately small number of occupations and industries. For several decades, a majority of women workers have been concentrated within the service sector, in clerical, sales and service occupations.

Women currently comprise over 70% of all part-time workers in Canada. It is important to recognize, however, that a scarcity of available full-time employment has compelled more and more women to undertake work on a part-time basis. Almost one-third of all women who work part-time would prefer both a full-time job and a full-time salary.

Statistics show that women have been harder hit by rising unemployment levels than have men. In occupations in which women comprise the minority of workers, and even in those in which they dominate, women tend to experience higher rates of unemployment than do men.

Finally, women have earned and continue to earn low wages. On average, women working full-time earn only 66% of the average incomes earned by men.

ENDNOTES

1. This definition of the labour force is used by Statistics Canada in both its Labour Force Survey and Census publications.

2. Noah M. Meltz, Changes in the Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force, 1931-1961, Department of Labour, Ottawa, 1965, 32

3. Census figures are more accurate than figures obtained through the labour force survey because they are based on a larger sample.

4. Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 71, 105

5. Ibid.

6. Patricia Connelly, Last Hired, First Fired (Toronto 1978) 96

7. Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Table 80, 114

8. Ibid.

9. See Julie White, Women and Part-Time Work, The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Ottawa, 1983

10. Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Table 83, 117

11. Cy Gonick, Out of Work (Toronto 1978) 19

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., 21-22

14. Statistics Canada, Earnings of Men and Women, 1981 and 1982, Cat. No. 13-577, Ottawa, 1984

15. Kevin Bishop, Statistics Canada, Household Surveys Division, Survey of Consumer Finances Section, telephone interview, September 1986

16. Roger Love, Statistics Canada, Household Surveys Division, Survey of Consumer Finances Section, telephone interview, October 1986

II. WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE: PERPETUATING FORCES

Although the disadvantaged position of women in the labour force is the outcome of historical circumstances, it is perpetuated today by a number of social, cultural, and economic forces.

SOCIALIZATION

In Canadian society, sex-role stereotyping is deeply rooted and pervasive. Stereotypic attitudes are entrenched in major social institutions such as the family, the school system and the media.

i) The Family

Stereotypic attitudes are passed from one generation to the next and this process begins at birth. Research studies show that female and male infants are treated differently by adults.[1] For instance, while girls are cuddled and talked to more than are boys, boys are jostled and played with more roughly. In summarizing the findings of a number of studies of gender learning in early childhood, Greer Litton Fox concludes that " ... even as infants, girls are expected to be, thought to be, and rewarded for being quieter, more passive, more controlled - in short, 'nicer' babies - than are boys".[2]

Other research studies indicate that parents of pre-school and elementary school age children tend to encourage independent behaviour in boys and they allow boys much more freedom than they allow girls in the physical environment.[3] Marlene Mackie reports: "(p)arents are extremely upset by any sign that their boys are 'sissies', while girls are encouraged to be neat and obedient and to be 'feminine' in both behaviour and dress".[4]

ii) The School

Early sex-role stereotyping that is begun in the family is reinforced by the school system. Teachers, for the most part, are adults who have themselves been socialized in a sexist society and thus, many of them have internalized sexist attitudes. As a result, teachers tend to have different expectations of male and female students and they tend to interact with them in different ways. In assessing the results of a study of classroom interaction, Myra Sadker and

David Sadker write: "(g)irls are often shortchanged in quality as well as quantity of teacher attention".[5] The study found, for example, that teachers pay more attention to male students, they praise them more often and they are at least twice as likely to have extended conversations with them. Teachers are also twice as likely to give male students detailed instructions on how to do things for themselves, while they are more likely to actually do assignments for female students. The result is, according to Sadker and Sadker, that while boys learn to become independent, just the opposite is true for girls.[6]

Learning materials used in the classroom also serve to perpetuate sex-role stereotyping. In textbooks and other materials, girls and women tend to be portrayed as weak, dependent and passive, performing traditionally female tasks. In contrast, males are continually shown in a wide variety of creative and active roles. A recent survey of learning materials approved for use in Manitoba schools provides evidence substantiating the prevalence in such materials of sex bias.[7] The survey found, for instance, that in families portrayed in commonly used learning materials:

> ... the fathers are the breadwinners and the mothers are primarily domestic 'at home' people. Repeatedly, women are relegated to the background and their presence ignored. Although women appear in some non-traditional roles, more often they are somebody's mother or wife -- inferring possession. On the other hand, boys and men are characterized in more active, aggressive and adventurous roles.[8]

Referring specifically to the portrayal of women in learning materials, the authors of the survey report:

> (f)emales, who comprise half of the population, are seriously under-represented and appear in a very limited number of traditional roles. Although forty-five percent (54.3% in 1985) of Canadian women are currently in the labour force, textbooks show scant recognition of this fact and seldom present young girls with realistic role models or methods of preparing for their future.[9]

At the high school level, young women are not encouraged to pursue studies in mathematics and sciences. As Patti Schom-Moffatt and Cynthia Dale-Telfer point out, girls are taught instead to devalue the importance of a

career.[10] It is assumed that they will marry, bear children and therefore drop out of the labour force after a relatively short period of time to be supported by their spouses for the rest of their lives. Lin Buckland reiterates these points, tracing the effects on women of sex-role stereotyping through the high school years and beyond:

> ... it is little wonder that girls and young women who are making choices about their education and occupational future find it more comfortable to repeat the patterns (of previous generations of women). The belief that 'girls can't become scientists' because there are so few women scientists, together with stereotypes that 'girls can't do mathematics' because it is 'unfeminine', act as powerful barriers that affect self-concept, self-confidence, and the choices that young girls make even in high school. Moreover, the still prevailing myth that a female's primary goal is to marry and raise children, even though it flies in the face of the reality that most women work and have to work for the majority of their adult lives, still exerts such a strong influence that high school girls choose terminal non-academic streams, young women take the shorter post-secondary community college programs, and female university students still decide to do general arts, so they 'can always teach'.[11]

iii) The Media

Media images of women further reinforce sex-role stereotyping. Women's work, as portrayed in the media, is usually in the home. As the 1982 Task Force on Sex-Role Stereotyping in the Broadcast Media reports:

> (w)omen, like men, come in all ages, shapes, sizes, and colours, but are not so represented in the broadcast media. Nor is the increasing diversity of women's lives reflected in most broadcasting. For example, women are most often portrayed in programming and commercials as economically dependent homemakers, and mothers performing domestic tasks. This image predominates despite the fact that today most Canadian women, whether married or single, can expect to spend an average of 40 years in the labour force.[12]

The Task Force also found that when women portrayed in the media are shown in the labour force, they are generally employed in traditionally female occupations and this paid work is usually undertaken in addition to full

responsibility for child care and homemaking.[13]

Research shows that the stereotyped portrayal of women in the media may have serious consequences.[14] Having reviewed available evidence concerning the societal impacts of advertising, Alice Courtney and Thomas Whipple concluded that advertising is " ... at least one contributing influence affecting the way children and adults view their roles in society".[15] Referring specifically to women and sex- role stereotyping in advertising, Courtney and Whipple write:

> ... stereotyped advertising may be one of the factors that contributes to cause women to limit their access to various occupations, and it may thus contribute to various social and economic consequences, including the ghettoization of female work.[16]

The Task Force on Sex-Role Stereotyping in the Broadcast Media reached a similar conclusion, noting that:

> (t)he constant repetition of (stereotypic) images tends to reinforce their perceived reality, thus influencing the attitudes of women, men, and children, and encourages both women and girls to limit their horizons both socially and professionally to those roles which they see portrayed.[17]

WOMEN'S FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES

Women continue to bear primary responsibility for the care and servicing of their families. Family responsibilities may present barriers for women in their attempts to seek and retain paid employment.

i) Parental Leave

When Canadian women leave the paid labour force to bear children, they are not supported by a national system of fully-paid parental leave. Although maternity benefits have been available through the Unemployment Insurance program (U.I.) since 1971, benefits replace only 60% of previous earnings, up to a maximum insurable earnings limit, for a period of fifteen weeks.[18] As well, in spite of recent changes to U.I. regulations which have enabled more women to qualify for maternity benefits, eligibility criteria still serve to exclude some working women from the program.[19]

Because paid leave for childbirth is not a right in Canada, most women workers must forego wages, either in part or in whole, prior to and following the birth of children.[20]

It is also important to note that most Canadian jurisdictions do not make provision for leave related to family responsibilities.[21] Many women must therefore forego wages, and/or accumulated paid leave, in order to fulfill such responsibilities as caring for sick children.

ii) Child Care

A lack of quality, low-cost child care has long been a barrier to the full and equal integration of women into the paid labour force.

In 1985, there were 192,374 licensed day care spaces in Canada.[22] Those spaces, according to figures compiled by the National Day Care Information Centre, were sufficient to serve only about 12% of Canadian children whose parents work full-time.[23]

As a consequence of the shortage of affordable, licensed child care, many women are either prevented from entering the labour force or they are compelled to make alternate arrangements for their children that may well be inadequate. A 1984 study, undertaken by the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, substantiates the former point.[24] The study found that at that time, almost 1,600 women, representing 2,605 pre-school and shool-age children, were unable to work for pay or attend school because they either could not find or could not afford adequate child care.[25]

For those mothers who must make alternate arrangements for the care of children, concerns regarding the adequacy of these arrangements may result in increased levels of absenteeism and job turnover.

iii) Housework

The problems associated with the lack of adequate parental leave benefits and low-cost, quality child care are compounded for women workers by the fact that they continue to be responsible for almost all of the housework in their homes.

Two Canadian studies show that house-wives, attending to child care and other household tasks, work a full-time week of 46 to 51 hours.[26] When these women enter the paid labour force, the increase in housework undertaken by their husbands amounts to very little.[27]

A third study, and one that Kathleen Lahey refers to as the most "optimistic" of these studies, indicates that employed women without children work 30 hours per week in their homes, while their husbands contribute only about 5 hours per week to household tasks.[28] To suggest that the burden of two jobs creates enormous hardship for the majority of women who participate in Canada's labour force is not to exaggerate or dramatize the situation. As Julie White notes: "(f)or the employed mother, the reality of the double workday means an unremitting round of activity from early in the morning until late at night, with almost no time for rest or leisure".[29]

THE "PIN MONEY" MYTH -- WOMEN'S ECONOMIC NEED

Sex-role stereotyping places women in the home as daughters and wives, economically dependent upon men. At the turn of the century, when women first began to enter white collar occupations in significant numbers, it was said that they were working for "pin money" -- funds that would permit them to purchase extras or luxury items.[30] This notion is still prevalent today. Many people, including economists and politicians, believe that women do not really need to work because they have their fathers or husbands to support them. This belief has been termed the "pin money" myth, for it is, in fact, just that.

The pin money myth is based on two erroneous assumptions. First, it assumes that most women continue to be economically dependent upon men. Second, it suggests that such dependence is not only acceptable but desirable.

Women have a right to economic independence and self-sufficiency. Past discrimination, such as denying women the vote and denying them "personhood" under the law, is now seen as repugnant by most. It is essential, however, that efforts continue to be made to ensure that prevailing attitudes such as those which underlie the pin money myth, in no way challenge or undermine women's fundamental right to participate as full members of society.

While the right of women to economic independence is foremost, it is also important to recognize that the majority of women no longer rely on men to meet their economic needs.

Almost 30% of women in the labour force are single.[31] It is, of course, difficult to determine what proportion of these women rely on a male worker for support. In view of the fact that almost 70% of single women in the labour force are between the ages of 20 and 64,[32] it seems reasonable to assume that the overwhelming majority of them depend on their labour force income and not their fathers for support.

Over 10% of the female labour force is separated, widowed or divorced.[33] While some of these women may be provided for by men, a study undertaken by Monica Boyd revealed that employment was the major source of

income for nearly three-quarters of divorced women and for one-half of those who were separated.[34] In short, most of these women depend on their labour force jobs to meet their economic needs.

The other 60% of women in the labour force are married.[35] The labour force participation rate of married women has increased steadily over the past several decades.[36] As Pat Armstrong has pointed out, the fact that the participation of these women is increasing in spite of poor job opportunities and low wages, in spite of the double burden of two jobs, and in spite of the scarcity and quality of available child care, suggests that many married women do, indeed, have to work.[37] Boyd's research substantiates this claim. She found that over 40% of married women rely on their employment income as their major source of income.[38]

Data gathered by Statistics Canada also show that married women do have to work. In 1984, wives contributed 33% to husband-wife family income.[39] Other sources indicate that if wives had no earnings, there would be a 62% increase in low-income, husband-wife families in Canada.[40]

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN WORKERS

i) Employers: General

Some employers still overtly discriminate against women. There are those who prefer not to hire women at all. Others invest little in the training of female employees and do not promote them to more advanced, higher-paying positions, regardless of their potential. This kind of discrimination often stems from the belief that women have a limited attachment to the labour force. It is assumed by many employers that after a relatively short period of time, women will leave their jobs to marry and raise children.

The belief by employers that women drop out of the labour force during their child-bearing years is out-dated. This belief is inconsistent with statistics cited earlier indicating that most women now return to full-time work soon after the birth of children.

In addition to mounting statistical evidence of the attachment of women to the labour force, research studies show that to the extent that women tend to leave jobs more frequently than do men, it is because it is women and not men who are overwhelmingly slotted into low-paying, dead-end jobs.[41] A study undertaken by the federal Department of Labour, for example, found that the proportion of continuous workers is greatest in occupations of the highest socio-economic class.[42] Women, of course, are seldom employed in these occupations. The study also found that women are less likely to change jobs if they are working in managerial, professional or clerical occupations than if they are working in commercial, factory or service areas.[43] As Armstrong explains:

> (l)ike men, women are more likely to stay in the good jobs and to leave the ones that offer little in terms of rewards. However, they (women) are more likely than men to have these secondary jobs and the jobs they do have are unlikely to encourage long term commitment.[44]

In large measure, then, it is the jobs themselves and not the women working in them that produce discontinuity in female work patterns. This, together with

the out-dated notion that most women choose to be full-time homemakers while their children are young, continues to promote the false perception that women have a limited attachment to the labour force.

ii) Employers: Non-Traditional Occupations

In an effort to gain access to higher paying jobs, an increasing number of women are attempting to enter male-dominated or "non-traditional" occupations. Women may be prevented from doing so, however, by some employers who hold sexist attitudes.

Some employers believe that women are the "weaker sex" and are therefore not capable of heavy or manual work. Others feel that it is not cost efficient to hire women, for if they were to do so, their worksites would require additional facilities.[45] Members of Women in Trades, a past organization of tradeswomen in Manitoba, repeatedly experienced this kind of discrimination.[46] A female carpenter, for example, had applied to eighty different firms during a three year search for employment. Women in Trades reported:

> (s)ome of the employers she spoke with rejected her saying that work would be too hard for a woman. Others told her the toilets weren't clean enough for a lady. Still others insisted she would find the job offensive because the male employees swore alot.[47]

When women do manage to secure employment in non-traditional areas, many face ongoing discrimination with little or no support.

iii) Systemic Discrimination

In addition to discrimination by employers, women in the labour force experience "systemic discrimination". The term systemic discrimination has been used to refer to employment strategies, policies and practices which, although equal in intent and equal in application, have a disparate effect on certain groups of workers such as women.[48] Systemic discrimination is thus distinguished from deliberate discriminatory practices by employers.

Systemic discrimination against women is pervasive in Canadian employment systems from the point of recruitment through to the promotion of employees. Irrelevant or unnecessary entry requirements have long hindered the recruitment and hiring of women workers. Height and weight measurements are one example; educational standards that are not related to job performance are another. Discrimination at the point of recruitment is also manifest in practices such as word-of-mouth advertising for job openings. Referring to this latter practice, D. Rhys Phillips notes: "(t)he predictable outcome of an all-white-male organization relying on word-of-mouth recruitment is all-white-male hiring".[49]

At the same time as irrelevant or unnecessary entry requirements may impede the recruitment and hiring of women, so too may the failure to recognize as relevant to paid employment, many of the attributes characteristic of the work patterns of women in Canadian society. An important example of this is the failure by employers to recognize volunteer activities and work in the home as legitimate employment-related experience.

The structure of career ladders in Canadian employment systems inhibits women's upward mobility. Studies show that low-level employees have fewer opportunities for either upgrading or training in business and industry.[50] A slightly different way of approaching this same phenomenon is to recognize that the labour market jobs in which women are concentrated tend to offer few opportunities for career development.

Finally, seniority systems, and their operation within firms, may also penalize women workers, particularly in periods of economic recession. As Phillips has noted, the last-hired, first-fired rule may disproportionately affect women and other groups who have recently gained access to certain jobs.[51] Phillips explains: "(w)here plants were intentionally segregated in the past, women and minorities may be laid off before workers in better-paying seniority lines or they may be unable to transfer their seniority to job progression lines offering greater opportunities".[52]

Although the term systemic discrimination has been used to refer to unwitting discrimination embedded in employment systems, women face other

barriers which can also be attributed to biased systems. As described earlier, sex-specific socialization, promoted in the home, the school and the media, encourages girls to aspire only to marriage and motherhood. Sex-specific socialization adversely influences the attitudes of men as well as women. It is thus a barrier to the employment of women in that it may act to deny them the education and training necessary to gain access to a wide range of rewarding positions in the labour market. Sex-specific socialization may also foster discriminatory attitudes towards women workers on the part of potential employers.

Women's primary responsibility for the care of children is one of the most formidable barriers to women's equality in employment and in the economy. The lack of adequate support measures such as paid parental leave and quality, low-cost child care has already been discussed. Although recent labour force statistics indicate that in spite of the lack of formal supports, a majority of women are now returning to work soon after the birth of children, it can reasonably be assumed that these circumstances continue to prevent some new mothers from either entering or returning full-time to the labour force. This has been verified by research studies such as the recent Winnipeg study on child care mentioned earlier.

For other women, many of whom have had to make either informal and/or less than adequate arrangements for the care of children, the burden of the double workday and the difficulties associated with it cannot be overlooked. As Lin Buckland has noted, in addition to the physical and emotional strain that necessarily accompanies the demands of two jobs, the need for adequate child care and the burden of the double workday combine to reduce women's employability. Specifically, women may be inhibited in their efforts to upgrade their education, improve their qualifications or attain post-secondary education.[53]

Women of previous generations who left work to raise families also face barriers in the labour market. Many of those who are now attempting to re-enter the labour force may be penalized by factors ranging from reduced self-confidence to skill obsolescence and/or the loss of seniority.

iv) Additional Barriers to Employment

Although all women may experience discrimination in employment, specific groups of women face additional barriers in their attempts to secure and retain paid work. Physical disabilities, cultural, ethnic, geographic and language differences, may present formidable barriers to the employment of many women.

SUMMARY

Although women, as full members of society, have a right to economic independence, and most women must work due to economic necessity, women face barriers in their attempts to secure and retain employment in the Canadian labour market.

Sex-role stereotyping, in the family, the school system and the media, encourages girls and young women to conform to narrowly defined notions of what is appropriate "feminine" behavior and to aspire only to marriage and motherhood. Stereotypic attitudes thus deny many women the academic and vocational training that would otherwise permit them to make career choices from a full range of options.

Family responsibilities, such as child bearing, housework and child care, also present barriers to the full and equal integration of women into the paid labour force. Some women are stymied in their attempts to enter or return to the work force, while many others face enormous hardship having to combine paid work with the care of homes and families, in the absence of adequate support measures.

Barriers to equality in employment may be further compounded by sexist employers who deliberately discriminate against women workers. Discrimination in employment, however, is more often unintentional, or "systemic". From the point of recruitment and hiring through to promotion, women are frequently the victims of employment policies and practices which, although equal in intent and equal in application, serve to deny women the same rights and opportunities available to male workers.

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III. WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE: LABOUR FORCE STRATEGIES

In a 1984 submission to the Manitoba Government entitled, The Economic Realities of Women, the Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women emphasized the importance of three interwoven areas where government must act decisively to help remove systemic barriers which impede the economic equality of women in the paid labour force.[1] These areas are:

i) mandatory affirmative action;

ii) pay equity; and

iii) job creation/training strategies which incorporate the above measures.

It is the position of the Advisory Council that concerted government action in each of these three areas is essential to frame the basis of an effective, comprehensive labour force strategy for women in Manitoba.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND WOMEN

Affirmative action can be described as positive action directed specifically towards the elimination of barriers to the equal employment of certain groups of workers such as women. To more fully understand what is meant by the term affirmative action, both as a concept, and as an employment policy tool, it is first necessary to distinguish affirmative action from policies of equal employment opportunity.

i) Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity

Affirmative action and equal employment opportunity are often seen as synonymous. In fact, these terms refer to very different notions of what constitutes discrimination and how it can most effectively be eliminated.

Equal employment opportunity requires that all individuals be treated equally and that employers cease discriminatory practices. Equal employment opportunity is thus based on the notion that if different groups of workers, such as men and women, are treated equally, equality will be the inevitable outcome.

While equal employment opportunity focuses on the elimination of overt discriminatory practices by employers, it fails to address systemic discrimination. Referring specifically to women as a target group, the Montreal Association of Women and the Law makes this very point, succinctly noting the consequences:

> (b)y ignoring systemic discrimination, equal employment opportunity ignores the fact that historically women have been disadvantaged and that this initial handicap is a constant preventing them from ever being on a par with men. Consequently, equal employment opportunity treats unequal groups - men and women - equally, and thus maintains the inequalities.[2]

Affirmative action moves beyond equal employment opportunity and redresses past and present discrimination built into employment systems by requiring both equality of treatment and equality of result. This latter element refers to concrete and measurable outcomes, allowing for an assessment of

whether in fact equality has been achieved. By requiring equality of result along with equality of opportunity, affirmative action can ensure that equality in employment becomes a reality.

ii) An Affirmative Action Plan

Affirmative action, as an employment policy tool, requires the formulation and implementation of a comprehensive, results-oriented plan. An affirmative action plan aimed specifically at women is adopted by an employer to:

i) identify and eliminate discrimination in the organization's employment process and policies;

ii) remedy the effects of past discrimination; and

iii) ensure appropriate representation of women throughout all levels of the employment organization.[3]

An effective affirmative action plan for women must include measures designed to remove barriers to the equal employment of women workers -- barriers that lie outside of, as well as within, employment systems. A comprehensive affirmative action plan must therefore be comprised of the following components:[4]

1. EQUAL OPPORTUNITY MEASURES

Equal opportunity measures involve a commitment on the part of employers to refrain from overt discrimination. Employment practices that have been identified as discriminatory are replaced by others which are neutral in their impact.

Examples: the elimination of wage differentials between men and women performing the same job; the elimination of unnecessary educational requirements for job entry.

2. REMEDIAL MEASURES

Remedial measures refer to the introduction of special benefits, strategies or programs designed to redress past discrimination. These measures are intended to hasten the corrective process begun by equal opportunity measures. They do not represent permanent changes to an organization's employment practices.

Examples: the active recruitment of women for employment; job training.

3. SUPPORT MEASURES

Support measures are programs or systems designed to alleviate employment problems that specifically affect women. These measures are usually permanent changes to an organization's employment practices.

Examples: the provision of child care; flex-time.

4. GOALS AND TIMETABLES

The goals of an affirmative action program are expressed numerically and time-frames for the achievement of goals are established. This allows for the measurement of results to ensure that change takes place.

5. ENFORCEMENT PROCEDURES

To achieve the goals of affirmative action, progress must be monitored, accountability for results assigned and sanctions imposed for non-compliance.

Affirmative action plans must also incorporate measures to eliminate the additional barriers faced by groups of women such as aboriginal women, immigrant women, disabled women and women who rely on social assistance.

Affirmative action is a short-term strategy designed to redress the effects of discrimination. By monitoring its progress, employers who have implemented affirmative action will be able to identify the point at which equality of opportunity and upward mobility are realities for women workers. Once the goals of affirmative action have been achieved, the strategy can be dismantled for the workplace will then accomodate both women and men as paid workers.

iii) Contract Compliance

Contract compliance is a mechanism by which a funding body places conditions on recipients of its funds.

Contract compliance can be used effectively as a public sector tool to extend affirmative action into the private sector. Governments can require that as a condition of conducting business with them, private firms must develop and implement affirmative action plans in their employment organizations. The federal contract compliance program in the United States serves as an important example of this.

iv) The American Experience

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Executive Order No. 11246 (E.O. 11246) frame the basis for affirmative action in the United States.

The Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of race, colour, religion, sex or national origin.

E.O. 11246, issued in 1965, prohibits companies conducting business with the federal government from engaging in discriminatory practices on the basis of race, creed, colour, national origin or sex. This Executive Order also requires that larger companies develop and implement an affirmative action program for women and minorities who are shown to be underutilized compared to their availability in the labour force for employment. The introduction in the 1960's of this latter requirement, contract compliance, represented a recognition on the part of the American government of the need for mandatory rather than

voluntary affirmative action measures.

In recent years, affirmative action has come under careful scrutiny in the United States. Several government-sponsored reports have analyzed the impact of the federal contract compliance program.[5] A 1982 Senate Committee analysis, the Hatch Report, found wide support for the program among employers as well as women and minorities.[6] At public hearings held by the committee, it was unanimously agreed that systemic discrimination can only be eliminated by compulsion. Employers reported that drawing up an affirmative action plan was a good business practice and that the overall effect of attempting to equalize employment opportunities " ... improved employee morale, reduced turnover and absenteeism, strengthened work commitment, increased productivity, and reduced costs".[7]

Two subsequent studies, commissioned by the U.S. Department of Labour, compared employment practices of companies doing business with the federal government with those holding no federal contracts in the period from 1974 to 1980.[8] Both studies found that affirmative action enhances the employment of women and minorities. During the period under study, the employment of women grew by 15.2% among companies with federal contracts compared to only 2.2% among other companies.[9]

PAY EQUITY AND WOMEN'S WAGES

Laws requiring equal pay for equal work were introduced in most Canadian jurisdictions in the 1950's and 1960's. These laws have benefitted some women workers by narrowing the wage gap between women and men in the same or similar occupations. Most women in the paid labour force, however, work in occupations which cannot be directly compared to jobs performed by men. Approximately three-quarters of all women workers in Canada perform what has traditionally been women's work, such as teaching, nursing, clerical and service work (see Tables 8, 9 and 10).

Traditional women's work tends to be low-paying work. As noted earlier, Canadian women working full-time, full-year earned, on average, 66% of the average earnings of men. Studies show that differences between women and men in education, work experience and other factors account for only about one-half of this wage gap.[10]

The objective of pay equity is to eliminate gender discrimination in wage setting practices.

i) Pay Equity: A Definition

Pay equity is a wage policy requiring equal pay within a jurisdiction or firm for job classifications that are valued equally in terms of criteria such as skill, effort, responsibility and working conditions.

The implementation of pay equity requires the application of a single job evaluation system to all job classifications within a jurisdiction or firm. The single job evaluation system measures in detail the skill, effort, responsibility and working conditions of every job classification and combines the scores in each area to produce a single overall score for every classification. Job classifications with equal overall scores are considered to have equal value to the jurisdiction or firm. Under a pay equity policy, classifications of equal value are paid equivalently.[11]

ii) Manitoba's Pay Equity Act

Bill 53, entitled the Pay Equity Act, received assent in Manitoba on July 11, 1985.

Manitoba was the first province in Canada to introduce employer-initiated pay equity legislation. Under employer-initiated legislation, it is the responsibility of the employer to implement pay equity. This is distinguished from legislation at the federal level in Canada and in Quebec requiring equal pay for work of equal value. The latter legislation, also known as "equal value" legislation, follows a complaint-based model which requires that an employee or group of employees come forward with a complaint in the event that an employer is believed to have contravened equal value legislation.

Bill 53 makes pay equity mandatory in the Manitoba Civil Service. All Crown entities and specific external agencies in Manitoba are also required by the Act to implement pay equity.

Under the Pay Equity Act, the value of a job is to be determined by the composite of the skill, effort and responsibility normally required in the performance of the work and the conditions under which the work is performed.

Pay inequities are to be identified by comparing the value of the work performed by female-dominated classes of employees with that of male-dominated classes. A class is considered gender-dominated if 70% or more of those in a class of ten or more people are of the same gender.

The implementation of pay equity in Manitoba is to be undertaken through the collective bargaining process, involving bargaining agents or employee representatives and the employers concerned.

No employee is to experience a reduction in wages as a result of pay equity.

Pay equity wage adjustments are to be phased in over a four year period. In any twelve month period, no employer is obligated to allocate more

than 1% of the previous year's payroll for pay equity wage adjustments.[12]

iii) Pay Equity: Other Jurisdictions

In the United States, Minnesota was the first state to voluntarily implement pay equity for state employees. Pay equity legislation applying to state employees was enacted in 1982.

In 1984, pay equity was extended through similar legislation to employees of local governments in Minnesota.

Minnesota's pay equity program for state employees is just now reaching completion. Nina Rothchild, Commissioner of the Department of Employee Relations in Minnesota, reports that the program has been a success.[13] In 1983, two years after legislation was enacted, approximately 151 job classes had received pay equity increases and about 8,225 employees had received pay equity adjustments. In 1985, $11.8 million was approved and appropriated by the state legislature for the completion of the program, bringing the total allocation over four years to 3.7% of the state payroll.[14]

In response to critics of pay equity, Rothchild notes that what did not happen when pay equity was implemented in Minnesota is probably more significant than what did happen. Rothchild states:

> (n)o employees have wages reduced or frozen, and no employees have been laid off as a result of the pay equity program. There have been no strikes or lawsuits. There has been no creation of a new bureaucracy to manage the process. There has been no change in the state's ability to attract and retain qualified workers, or to meet its fiscal responsibilities. The costs have been very reasonable.[15]

Rothchild also notes that opponents of pay equity have suggested that it may cause disruption and low morale in the workforce. This, according to Rothchild, has not happened. She cites an independent study of Minnesota state employees which showed that over 80% of such employees strongly support the pay equity program.[16] This includes men as well as women, and those who received pay equity increases as well as those who did not.

The implementation of pay equity legislation has also been successful in Australia, where it was extended to both the public and private sectors in 1975.

Figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics show that while women earned, on average, 66% of men's average earnings in 1969, the wage gap has since closed significantly. Women now earn, on average, 85% of men's average earnings.[17] According to Jenny Acton, industrial officer for the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the remaining wage gap reflects factors such as different education and experience levels among men and women, as well as the fact that women in Australia receive fewer promotions than do men.[18]

Acton also reports that even though business resisted the introduction of pay equity legislation in the early 1970's, both business and labour spokespeople now agree that the legislation has been effective.[19]

A recent study of the Australian experience with pay equity substantiates not only the effectiveness of the legislation in narrowing the wage gap between men and women, but also the fact that many of the negative consequences anticipated regarding the employment of women have not materialized.[20] R. G. Gregory and V. Ho, the researchers who undertook the study, found that the employment and unemployment of women in Australia were not significantly affected by pay equity wage adjustments. Gregory and Ho write:

> ... perhaps the most surprising results for us were that before the Australian experiment we believed that such a large change in pay relativities would not be possible and if achieved would be associated with much larger responses in relative employment and unemployment. We were wrong on both counts.[21]

JOB CREATION AND WOMEN

In recent years, governments at both the federal and provincial levels have turned increasingly to employment studies and job creation programming as means to combat rising unemployment rates in Canada. Researchers investigating employment studies and job creation programs have found that in the absence of special measures aimed at women, these strategies tend to be of primary benefit to men in the Canadian labour force.[22]

According to Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, employment studies and job creation programs are aimed primarily at male workers between the ages of 25 and 44 years.[23] In a recent submission to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, Armstrong and Armstrong report:

> (a)lthough women's unemployment rates are higher than those of men in most occupations, employment studies and job creation programmes have reflected a preoccupation with the employment futures of men in their prime .... Women are not ignored in these studies and programmes but, lumped together with other 'special problem' groups ... they take a distinct second place to that other minority group - the 'prime age males'.[24]

Armstrong and Armstrong go on to point out the implications of this focus: "(t)he problem is not simply semantic or academic. These approaches are translated into government job creation programmes which are primarily directed towards those males in their prime".[25]

Studies undertaken by other researchers confirm the fact that government job creation programs tend to favour men. In examining the impact on women of several federal job creation programs in the late 1970's, Patricia Dale found that women were seriously under-represented among participants in almost every instance.[26] More recent studies, such as those undertaken by Bronwyn Chester and Pat Armstrong, reveal similar findings.[27]

In attempting to account for the unusually low participation of women in job creation programs, researchers emphasize the fact that most of these programs provide employment opportunities in industrial sectors that are

dominated by men. Taking the largest federal job creation program, New Employment Expansion and Development (NEED), as one example, Armstrong and Armstrong note:

> (w)hile (program) criteria seem unbiased in terms of sex, the list of possible projects does not. According to the government advertising, eligible activities include: 'construction of small craft harbours or fisheries facilities, parks improvement, reforestation, modernization of production plants, improvement or adaption of facilities for the handicapped and tourism development'.[28]

Armstrong and Armstrong go on to conclude: "(i)t is men who work in these areas and therefore they are most likely to benefit from these programmes".[29]

Although current job creation programs tend to benefit men, this is not the inevitable outcome of these initiatives. In fact, job creation programs have the potential to benefit women and significantly improve their position in the Canadian labour market. In concluding her study, Patricia Dale expands on the nature of this potential and emphasizes the role and responsibility of government. Dale writes:

> ... job creation programs are very targetable and flexible. The government has control of where and when funds are spent, of the type of project approved, and through ... referrals or consultation, of the choice of those hired .... If the government wished to take a leading role in advancing the labour market status of women, these programs could be used as a vehicle to do so ...[30]

TRAINING AND WOMEN

Like job creation programs, training programs, at both the federal and provincial levels, have also tended to benefit men and not women. Researchers investigating federal training initiatives have found that women have been and continue to be under-represented in the institutional training component, as well as the industrial, or on-the-job, training component, of the National Training Program.[31] In 1982-83, for instance, although women represented 41% of the total Canadian labour force, they comprised only 25.7% of trainees enrolled in institutional training and 22.7% of those participating in industrial training programs.[32]

Financial inaccessibility to training programs has been identified by researchers as the primary factor inhibiting the participation of women as trainees. They point specifically to the fact that training allowances have been insufficient to cover the costs of child care and other expenses associated with participation in training programs. Barriers to the employment of low-income women are compounded by the fact that part-time trainees have not been eligible for allowances and, in some instances, allowances have been lower than social assistance benefits.[33]

Investigations into enrollment patterns in federal training programs have also shown that women who do participate in training initiatives tend to be concentrated in traditionally female occupations. Referring again to the National Training Program as an example, 1982-83 figures show that women comprised 92.2% of all institutional skill trainees in clerical occupations. As a point of comparison, female trainees made up only 4.4% of all trainees in machining and related occupations.[34]

Analysts and critics of current training initiatives have expressed concern about the concentration of women trainees in traditionally female occupations, particularly in view of the rapid increase in the automation of clerical work. Heather Menzies, for example, has argued that the concentration of female trainees in clerical occupations represents "... a growing mismatch between the training and skills of female job seekers and the types of information - related employment being created".[35] While new technologies

are increasing employment opportunities in the professional-managerial occupations, they are eliminating clerical jobs. Menzies has estimated that unless appropriate measures are taken, nearly one million women workers will swell the ranks of the unemployed by 1990.[36]

The under-representation of women trainees in non-traditional occupations reflects the same phenomenon as does women's under-representation in current job creation programs: these are areas which have traditionally been dominated by men. Concerns arise therefore in relation to the fact that there are few strategies designed to encourage and prepare women to undertake training in these areas. Referring to the federal practice of simply setting aside non-traditional training spaces for women, Judge Rosalie Silberman Abella notes:

> (t)o expect, for example, that women will take advantage of the highly specialized Critical Trade Skills Training Program by reserving 10 to 15 per cent of the training spaces for them without prior preparatory programs is to ignore the reality of women's past experience.[37]

Judge Abella goes on to summarize the importance of truly accessible training opportunities:

> (w)ithout the necessary education and training, members of the designated groups (including women) cannot hope to join the economic competition on an equitable basis. It is important to remember that barriers to their access exist at this outer gate and that they are no less formidable than the ones in the main employment arena.[38]

SUMMARY

Although job creation and training programs have tended to benefit men in the labour force and not women, this need not be the inevitable outcome of such initiatives. The incorporation of special measures such as affirmative action and pay equity into job creation and training programs would help to ensure that female and male workers are able to share equitably in the benefits of these programs.

Mandatory affirmative action, pay equity, and job creation and training strategies which incorporate these measures, are essential components of a labour force strategy designed to advance the status of women.

In view of the tendency of job creation and training programs to benefit men rather than women, the Advisory Council took a decision to examine the Manitoba Jobs Fund, the major provincial effort in the areas of job creation and economic development, as a case study.

ENDNOTES

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23. Armstrong and Armstrong, "Women and the Economic Crisis", 23

24. Ibid.

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27. See Armstrong, Labour Pains; and Chester, "Job Creation Programs"

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31. See Lin Buckland, "Education and Training: Equal Opportunities or Barriers to Employment?" in Abella, Research Studies, 131-156; Dale, Women and Jobs; and Status of Women Canada, The Employment of Women in Canada: Review of Policies for Equality of Opportunity, National Report of Canada to Working Party No. 6 on the Role of Women in the Economy, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, January 1982

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IV. THE MANITOBA JOBS FUND: A CASE STUDY

In 1985, the Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women undertook a study of the Manitoba Jobs Fund. The impetus for the study arose from a recognition on the part of the Advisory Council that employment-related initiatives, such as job creation and training programs, tend to have a differential impact on women and men. Although some researchers have focused on such programs and their impact on different sub-groups of the population, relatively few have actually documented this phenomenon. When the Manitoba Jobs Fund, the major provincial initiative in the areas of job creation and economic development, was established, it presented an important opportunity for the Advisory Council to conduct a case study assessing its impact on women. The results of this case study are illustrative of a widespread phenomenon that is of vital concern to all women.

The following case study covers the first phase of the Manitoba Jobs Fund, 1983-84; and the initial year of its second and current phase, 1984-85.[1] The results of the study, together with an analysis of the Fund, are presented below.

THE MANITOBA JOBS FUND: A DESCRIPTION

PHASE I: 1983-1984

In February of 1983, the Manitoba Jobs Fund (MJF) was introduced by the Government of Manitoba. The MJF is seen as integral to the government's long- term economic development strategy. The introduction of the Fund in 1983 marked the first phase of this strategy.

At the time that the MJF was established, Manitoba, like other Canadian provinces, was experiencing the effects of economic recession and unemployment levels were unusually high. Because the recession was expected to be a temporary phenomenon and because the need for employment opportunities was perceived as immediate, the primary focus of the first phase of the government's economic development strategy was the creation of short-term jobs for Manitobans. Thus, the MJF, in this first phase of economic recovery, operated as a funding vehicle for job creation programming. It was, as explained in the 1983-84 MJF report: " ... a special, extra expenditure of provincial funds in ways that would create immediate jobs."[2]

In the 1983-84 fiscal year, the Manitoba Government allocated $200 million to the MJF. According to the MJF report, the Fund was assembled by extra borrowing, by reallocating monies from lesser priorities and by assistance from the Manitoba Government Employees Association, who accepted deferred salary increases to free up more money for job creation.[3]

The MJF was highly successful in acting as a catalyst and coordinator in encouraging the commitment of supplemental funds for Manitoba job creation from outside the provincial public sector. In 1983-84, MJF expenditures were supplemented by more than $150 million committed by municipal and federal governments and the private sector. Supplemental funds brought the total MJF commitment to over $350 million.

Monies put toward the MJF in 1983-84 were allocated through the Fund to 42 different programs and projects. Allocations can be categorized in the following way:

* wage assistance programs;

* grants to municipalities and community organizations for a variety of projects;

* funding for the construction or expansion of provincial assets/facilities;

* loan programs to stimulate home construction and renovation; and

* energy conservation projects.

More than 21,000 Manitobans gained temporary employment as a direct consequence of MJF programs and projects during the first phase of the Fund. Table 29 presents a complete list of MJF programs and projects introduced during this year.

PHASE II: 1984-1985

As the 1983-84 fiscal year drew to a close, so too did the first phase of the Manitoba Government's economic development strategy. At this point, Cabinet established economic development as its major priority and the MJF was restructured to reflect this. Although initiatives undertaken through the Fund are to continue to provide Manitobans with employment, the focus on short-term job creation shifted in 1984-85 to the creation of new, permanent jobs for Manitobans and the enhanced stability and growth of viable sectors of the provincial economy.

In 1984-85, twelve sectors or categories[4] were identified by Cabinet for inclusion in the MJF and strategies promoting long-term growth within each were formulated. The twelve categories are:

Agriculture/Food Processing
Forestry
Energy/Hydro
Small Business
Technology
Development Agreements
Cooperative Development
Transportation
Housing/Urban Development
Youth/Wage Assistance
Provincial Capital Assets
Community Assets

The restructuring of the MJF was intended to provide the government with " ... integrated policies and implementation tools (programs and projects) to encourage structural changes in Manitoba's diversified economy".[5] In this second and final phase of the government's economic development strategy, it is the task of the MJF to pull together, coordinate and complement a wide array of departmental activities within the twelve categories listed above.

It is intended that MJF programs and projects will create new opportunities for economic growth and development; enhance existing opportunities; and help individuals and organizations to take advantage of these. MJF programs and projects, together with the coordination provided by the MJF office, are meant to ensure that the government's overall strategy is comprehensive as well as consistent. It is expected that the Fund will continue to operate for several years.

In the 1984-85 fiscal year, $210 million was put towards the MJF by the Manitoba Government. Municipal and federal governments and the private sector together committed $95 million to job creation stimulated by the MJF during this year.

A total of 59 programs and projects were initiated, or extended, through the MJF in 1984-85. These were distributed within the twelve MJF categories outlined earlier and are presented in this manner in Table 30.

Due to the shift in focus of the MJF from short-term to long-term job creation and economic development, over 16,000 Manitobans gained employment in 1984-85 as a direct consequence of Fund activities.

THE MANITOBA JOBS FUND: A CASE STUDY

As stated earlier, the MJF purports to serve both as a vehicle for job creation programming and as a means to promote the enhanced stability and growth of the Manitoba economy.

THE MANITOBA JOBS FUND: JOB CREATION AND WOMEN

This section of the case study will assess the impact on women of the MJF as a job creation initiative.

Data collected in 1985 by the Advisory Council reveal that, from the inception of the MJF to the close of the 1984-85 fiscal year:

1) women were seriously under-represented in the MJF; and

2) the relatively small percentage of women who gained employment through the Fund were overwhelmingly concentrated in low-paying, female job ghettos.

1. UNDER-REPRESENTATION

In the first phase of the MJF, 4,852 women were employed in MJF programs and projects compared to 16,394 men.

In 1984-85, 3,943 women gained employment through the MJF. In contrast, 12,388 men were employed through the Fund during this year.

Even though women comprise approximately 43% of the Manitoba labour force, and their unemployment rates parallel those of men, the above figures show that women held just less than 23% of all positions created by the Manitoba Jobs Fund in its first phase and 24% in 1984-85. Tables 29 and 30 contain figures indicating the representation of women and men employed in MJF programs and projects in the first phase of the Fund and in 1984-85, respectively.

2. OCCUPATIONAL GHETTOIZATION

i) Distribution by Occupation

The twelve categories selected by Cabinet and included in the MJF, with the exception of Youth/Wage Assistance, represent areas which are primarily male- dominated. It is therefore not surprising to find that employment opportunities generated through the MJF have been concentrated in occupations and industries that are dominated by men.

As shown in Table 31, in the first phase of the MJF, male-dominated occupations such as processing, machining, product fabricating, construction trades, transport equipment operating, materials handling and other crafts and equipment operating, together accounted for 12,629 MJF participants, or almost 60% of all those employed in MJF programs and projects.

In 1984-85, the seven male-dominated occupations listed above accounted for 8,354 MJF participants, or 51% of all Manitobans employed through the Fund (see Table 31).

The emphasis on male-dominated sectors of the economy by the MJF is also apparent in that in 1984-85, 3,760 women, or 95% of all women participating in the MJF were employed in programs and projects initiated through only one category of the Fund, Youth/Wage Assistance (see Table 30).

ii) Occupational Distribution by Sex

The occupational distribution of women in the MJF has mirrored the occupational segregation of women in Manitoba. Although information regarding occupational distribution by sex is not available for the first year of the Fund's operation, it is available for the 1984-85 fiscal year and as figures in Table 33 indicate, clerical, sales and service occupations accounted for 2,327 women, or 59% of all women employed through the MJF during this year. In 1981, again, the most recent year for which complete figures are available, 59.9% of all women in the Manitoba labour force held positions in these same three occupation groups (see Table 9).

The occupational segregation of women employed through the MJF is manifest not only by the large proportion of female workers confined to clerical, sales and service occupations but also by the overwhelming exclusion of women within occupation groups that are dominated by men.

As shown in Table 33, processing, machining, product fabricating, construction trades, transport equipment operating, materials handling and other crafts and equipment operating occupations together accounted for only 274 women, or 6.9% of all women employed through the Fund. In contrast, 8,080 men, or 65.2% of all male participants in the Fund were employed in these seven occupations during this year.

In view of the fact that construction trades occupations alone accounted for over 43% of all Manitobans employed through the Fund in 1984-85, it is also important to note that only 2% of all such MJF participants, or 141 of 7,009 construction trades workers, were women (see Tables 31 and 33).

iii) Young Women

The CareerStart program is the major MJF initiative aimed at Manitoba youth. CareerStart is a wage assistance program designed specifically to provide unemployed youth and full-time students with career-related employment experience.

Young women have been under-represented in CareerStart. In 1984-85, the only period for which information is available, 2,660 CareerStart participants, or almost 42% of all such program participants, were female (see Table 30). These figures contrast with provincial labour force figures which show that in 1985, women comprised 48% of all Manitoba workers between the ages of 15 and 24 years.[6]

Young women participating in CareerStart have also been confined to traditionally female occupations. As shown in Table 34, 61% of all female program participants were employed in clerical, sales and service occupations. In contrast, the seven male-dominated occupations listed earlier accounted for only 4% of all young women employed through CareerStart in 1984-85.

iv) Wages

Information gathered on the wage levels of MJF participants in 1984-85 indicates that like women in Manitoba and in Canada, those employed through the MJF have suffered the economic consequences of job segregation by sex.

In 1984-85, men employed through the MJF earned, on average, an hourly wage rate of $10.78/hour. In contrast, women in the Fund earned $4.99/hour,[7] or just over 46% of the average hourly wage rate of their male counterparts. This wage differential was even greater than the differential between the sexes in Manitoba: in 1984, Manitoba women working full-time, full-year earned, on average, $16,480 per year, or 66% of average male earnings.[8]

THE MANITOBA JOBS FUND: PROGRAM DEFICIENCIES

As demonstrated earlier, the MJF has emphasized male-dominated sectors of the economy. In the absence of special strategies aimed specifically at the employment of women, this emphasis has resulted in the under-representation and occupational ghettoization of women within the Fund.

The absence of special strategies within the MJF is documented below.

A. THE MANITOBA JOBS FUND AND THE ABSENCE OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

The MJF has not incorporated affirmative action as an integral component of its overall employment strategy.

1. EQUAL OPPORTUNITY MEASURES

a) Formal Commitments to Equal Opportunity

In instances where MJF monies have been allocated to employers and contractors in the private sector, the MJF has not required formal commitments from private firms to refrain from discriminatory employment practices. Although the Manitoba Government is an equal opportunity employer, many MJF participants are not employed directly by the government and there is no reason to assume that private firms have adopted equal opportunity strategies.

b) Wage Differentials

It has already been demonstrated that the majority of women employed through the MJF have worked in different occupational groups than have their male counterparts. Some women and men employed through the Fund, however, have worked in the same or similar occupations. In these instances, there is no evidence of gender based wage differentials.[9]

2. REMEDIAL MEASURES

a) Active Recruitment

Programs and projects initiated through the MJF have been publicized in a variety of different ways. These include the media, information booths, brochures and referrals through government employment agencies and other delegated authorities.

With few exceptions[10], however, no special measures have been taken, either by individual initiatives or through the Fund as a whole, to make women specifically aware of employment opportunities and to promote their participation in the MJF.

b) Contract Compliance

Contract compliance, ensuring that MJF monies are allocated only to firms that have, or agree to introduce, affirmative action programs, has not been implemented by the MJF.

Under the Development Agreements category of the MJF, the Manitoba Government offers incentives, such as financial assistance, to individual companies wishing to locate or expand operations in Manitoba. In exchange, companies are to make commitments to the Province in such areas as level of employment and investment, environmental controls and affirmative action programs. These commitments, however, are not mandatory and thus, there is no assurance that companies participating in Development Agreements will elect to introduce affirmative action programs.

c) Job Training

Job training has not played a significant role in the MJF. Of the 59 programs and projects underway in 1984-85, only three included job training. These were: Manitoba Jobs and Training Program, Youth Business Start, and the Child Care Training Program.

i) Manitoba Jobs and Training Program (MJTP)

MJTP includes a Training and Employment Component which offers employers financial assistance for a 30 week period while training on the job is undertaken.

Women have been adequately represented in the Training and Employment Component of MJTP. In 1984-85, of the 396 Training and Employment participants, 167, or 42.2% were women.

Although women have been adequately represented in MJTP, they have been concentrated in traditionally female occupations. As shown in Table 35, clerical, sales and service occupations accounted for 61% of all women participating in the program in 1984-85. The high percentage of female participation confined to clerical occupations (28.6%) is of particular concern in view of the increasing automation of clerical work mentioned earlier.

ii) Youth Business Start (YBS)

YBS provides financial assistance and business training to young people wishing to establish new businesses in Manitoba.

Although YBS provides training and employment in a non-traditional area, women have been under-represented among program participants. In 1984-85, 12, or 21.4% of all successful YBS applicants were women.

iii) Child Care Training Program (CCTP)

CCTP provides six weeks of training to 500 currently employed child care workers. The purpose of the program is to upgrade the skill levels of workers so that levels will meet with certification requirements recently introduced through the provincial Community Child Day Care Standards Act.

The allocation of MJF monies to CCTP represents an important example of the creative use to which these monies may be put. In providing the wages of substitutes to enable child care workers to upgrade skill levels, this MJF

allocation will be able to achieve the dual objective of economic and social development.

While the allocation to CCTP is a creative use of MJF monies, it is important to recognize that the vast majority of program participants are female and child care is a low-paying, sex-stereotyped occupation.

3. SUPPORT MEASURES

a) Child Care

Although the lack of adequate, low-cost child care has been shown, time and time again, to be a formidable barrier to the full and equal integration of women into the labour force, the Manitoba Government has not yet recognized the need to link child care services and facilities with MJF initiatives.

No program or project introduced through the MJF has made subsidized or low-cost, quality child care available to participants.

b) Flex-Time

Flex-time refers to an arrangement between employers and workers whereby workers are allowed flexibility in the scheduling of work hours. Among other benefits, flex-time allows workers to more easily combine parenting with a career.

It is recognized that flex-time has not yet been formally introduced into the Manitoba Civil Service. It is, however, an important support measure.

The MJF has made no formal provision for flex-time.

B. THE MANITOBA JOBS FUND AND THE ABSENCE OF PAY EQUITY

Women employed through the MJF have been concentrated in traditionally female jobs, the majority of which have been generated through MJF wage subsidy programs. These programs usually pay participants provincial minimum wage rates.

In contrast, almost one-half of all men participating in the MJF have been employed in construction trades occupations. Many of these male workers have been hired and paid by independent employers and contractors who are compelled by law to pay employees standardized wages that far exceed the provincial minimum wage.

As noted earlier, in 1984-85, women employed through the MJF earned, on average, only 46% of the average wages earned by their male counterparts. Because the MJF has not sought to ensure that the work performed by participants is compensated in accordance with factors such as skill, effort, and responsibility, and the working conditions under which it is performed, the work done by women employed through the Fund has been undervalued and underpaid.

SUMMARY

The MJF has emphasized male-dominated sectors of the provincial economy.

In the absence of special strategies such as affirmative action, the emphasis of the MJF on male-dominated sectors has resulted in the under-representation of women in the Fund. Although women comprise approximately 43% of the Manitoba labour force, they made up only 23% of all MJF participants in the first phase of the Fund and 24% in 1984-85.

The absence of affirmative action in the MJF has also meant that those women who have gained employment through the Fund have been concentrated in traditionally female occupations such as clerical, sales and service occupations.

Traditional women's work tends to be low-paying work. Because the MJF has not adopted a pay equity policy, whereby participants are remunerated in accordance with the value of the work they perform, women employed through the MJF have earned considerably less than have their male counterparts. In 1984-85, female MJF participants earned, on average, an hourly wage rate that was less than one-half of the hourly wage rate earned by male participants.

THE MANITOBA JOBS FUND: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND WOMEN

In addition to serving as a vehicle for job creation programming, the MJF is designed to promote the enhanced stability and growth of the Manitoba economy.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND WOMEN

Although women comprise over one-half of Canada's population and 43% of the paid labour force, the impact on women of economic development strategies has rarely been taken into serious consideration by provincial and federal governments. Isabella Bakker, in a paper submitted to the OECD Experts' Meeting on the Impact of Economic Policies on Women, makes this point when she writes: "(p)ast consideration of the question of economic development in Canada has focussed on regional or sectoral/industrial disparities leaving aside the vital question of economic impacts on sub-groups of the population".[11] Bakker goes on to argue that:

> (w)ith an increasing concern for the question of economic development and industrial strategies, the disadvantaged economic situation of women must be incorporated into an analysis for the overall pattern of economic development if policy resolutions are to be complete and equitable.[12]

Women's work is an integral part of the economy in Manitoba, in Canada and in all other major industrial countries. The importance of including women in all phases of economic development, therefore, cannot be over-emphasized.

Women's centrality in economic development was recently acknowledged by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. The Commission focused on development, together with equality and peace, as one of the three goals for the United Nations International Decade for Women, which concluded in Nairobi in 1985. In preparing forward-looking strategies for the advancement of women, the Commission stressed that:

> (t)he commitment to remove obstacles to the effective participation of women in development as intellectuals, policy- and decision-makers, planners, contributors and

> beneficiaries should be strengthened according to the specific problems of different regions and countries and the needs of different categories of women in them. That commitment should guide the formulation and implementation of policies, plans, programs and projects with the awareness that development prospects will be improved and society advanced through the full and effective participation of women.[13]

A commitment to include women in economic development must be more than a hollow promise. In a particularly pointed comment, the Commission made this clear:

> (c)oncern with promoting the effective participation of women in development should be reflected in the formulation and implementation of mainstream programs and projects and should not be confined solely to statements of intention within plans or to small-scale, transitory women's programs.[14]

Women must no longer be accorded by governments the status of a "special interest group". Again, women comprise over one-half of the population and as a majority group, a recognition of women's centrality in economic development is essential.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE POST-INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY

Like all major industrial countries, Canada is moving into what is often referred to as a "post-industrial" economy.

A post-industrial economy is characterized by declining growth rates in the primary and secondary sectors and an expanding tertiary or service sector. As shown in Table 36, between 1975 and 1985, approximately 92% of net new employment created in Canada was in the service sector. Just over 55% was created in community, business and personal services. Manitoba's economy has shown this same pattern over the last decade (see Table 37).

Economists predict that increased emphasis on the service sector of the economy will continue as Canada moves into a post-industrial age.[15] Futurist John Kettle, for instance, pinpoints 1953 as the peak year for the industrial sector in Canada. Since that time, claims Kettle, industrial activity in Canada has steadily diminished.[16] In making this same observation, others emphasize the fact that although it is particularly important to recognize these changes and to incorporate them into economic development strategies, this has not yet become an established practice. Two such observers note that:

> (r)egrettably, many of our economists as well as our politicians and business leaders are still mired in the values and expectations they acquired in another epoch, and they are still using economic models developed for the last economy.[17]

The trend in Canada toward a post-industrial economy is of particular significance to women. As mentioned earlier, the majority of women workers in Canada are located in the service sector. Indeed, this sector accounts for 84.4% of all employed Canadian women.[18] This pattern is also reflected in Manitoba, where 83.7% of all employed women hold jobs in the service sector.[19]

THE MANITOBA GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Manitoba Government view of economic development for the province is reflected in public statements made by the government. In a recent budget address, for instance, the Manitoba Government stressed the fact that Manitoba cannot have social development without economic development; that economic development must strengthen the regional economy and that immense benefits arise when employment opportunities are increased.[20]

Specific principles for economic development were recently set out in an Intergovernmental Position Paper on the Principles and Framework for Regional Economic Development, which was signed by all levels of government in Canada, including the Manitoba Government.[21] In the position paper, governments agreed that the overall objective of regional economic development policy is the improvement of employment and income for all Canadians, based on the realistic economic opportunities of each region.

The intergovernmental position paper emphasized the fact that the economic realities of Canada demand a variety of flexible and innovative approaches to economic development. This, the major thrust of the paper, was underpinned by a recognition that all jurisdictions must work together to build a Canadian economy which is both efficient in the world marketplace and equitable in the context of Canadian society as a whole.

In establishing principles for economic development, governments agreed that although sustainable opportunities will tend to be based on the comparative advantage of each region, this should not be a "recipe for maintenance of the status quo".[22] According to the position paper, current economic specializations are not the only guide to viable new opportunities and new directions deserve to be explored. The position paper went on to note that a policy framework which concentrates on established manufacturing and processing operations is not necessarily the most appropriate framework, especially in view of the fact that industrial economies are now facing the prospect of structural change and technological innovation. Development policy, it was agreed, must increasingly focus on ways and means to create new income and employment.

THE MANITOBA JOBS FUND: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND WOMEN

Although the MJF may be seen as consistent with some of the ideas contained in the intergovernmental position paper referred to above, it has not, in practice, supported the challenge posed in the paper regarding flexible and innovative approaches to economic development.

As described in a previous section of this case study, the MJF is comprised of twelve categories within which 59 programs and projects are distributed (see Table 30). Even in areas of potential innovation, such as the Small Business category of the MJF, emphasis has been placed on the primary and secondary sectors of the provincial economy. The Venture Capital program, the most active program within Small Business, serves as an important example. The focus of this program appears to be limited to the provision of assistance to such businesses as " ... manufacturing and processing, agriculture and forestry products, commercial air and water transportation, welding and machine shops, heavy equipment repair and maintenance, selected farm services and other businesses which are supportive to the agricultural and forestry industries".[23] There is, quite clearly, very little that is either new or innovative about Venture Capital.

The intergovernmental position paper suggested cooperative development as another area in which governments could show initiative and innovation. There has been no activity, however, in the Cooperative Development category of the MJF and no jobs have yet been created within this category (see Table 30).

In the 1983-84 report of the MJF, the Manitoba Government acknowledged the changing structure of the provincial economy. The government noted that: "(s)ince the 1970's, society has been rapidly changing from an industrial to an information society and that pace continues to accelerate".[24] The report went on to claim that the MJF will place increased emphasis on information technology. In keeping with this emphasis, a special program, Infotech, was established in 1984-85 to develop "initiatives of market stimulation (both supply and demand) in three niches of opportunity: education, commercial offices, and in public administration".[25] It appears, however, that the focus of Infotech has been the development of educational materials for use in training. In

1984-85, only 29 jobs were created through the Infotech program. A total of 57 jobs were generated within the Technology category of the MJF during this year (see Table 30).

It may be that the Manitoba Government views employment in the service sector as a spin-off from job creation in other sectors. In the 1983-84 MJF report, for example, it was stated that many of the target areas on which the MJF would focus "are interrelated and provide support for other sectors".[26] Evidence suggests, however, that in today's economy, the service sector is much more than a mere by-product of manufacturing. Many operations in the service sector now depend on business that is generated by other service operations and not by manufacturing. In fact, more than one-half of the total output of so-called intermediate services goes to other service businesses.[27]

The focus of the MJF on the primary and secondary sectors of the provincial economy is not only out of step with the reality of the new post-industrial age, but it is also inappropriate and inequitable in respect of the employment of women in Manitoba.

Venture Capital serves as an example at the program level of the exclusion of women from the MJF due primarily to its focus on the primary and secondary sectors of the economy. As noted earlier, Venture Capital provides assistance to businesses in these sectors. Venture Capital has done nothing to create jobs for women. In 1984-85, the program generated 470 jobs, all of which were assumed by men (see Table 30).

The Youth/Wage Assistance category of the MJF is virtually the only category which provides employment in all sectors of the economy, including the service sector. The remaining eleven MJF categories offer employment opportunities which are concentrated in the primary and secondary sectors. In 1984-85, these eleven categories accounted for only 5% of all women employed through the MJF (see Table 30). This shows clearly that due primarily to its focus on male-dominated sectors of the economy, women have been excluded from the MJF.

SUMMARY

Manitoba, like Canada and other major industrial countries, is moving into a post-industrial economy, characterized by an expanding service sector.

In the context of the approaching post-industrial age, the focus of the MJF is open to question, for it continues to emphasize the primary and secondary sectors of the provincial economy and not the service sector. In Canada, the primary and secondary sectors have accounted for only 8% of net new employment created over the past ten years.

The focus of the MJF is also inconsistent with the government's stated commitment to place increased emphasis on flexible and innovative approaches to economic development.

As a signatory to the Intergovernmental Position Paper on the Principles and Framework for Regional Economic Development, the Manitoba Government also committed itself to the position that the overall objective of economic development is the improvement of employment and income for all. The focus of the MJF on the primary and secondary sectors of the economy has clearly not permitted the government to make such an improvement a reality for all Manitobans. Indeed, it has been demonstrated that by virtue of its focus, the MJF has failed to provide equitable benefits in the area of employment and income to women and men in Manitoba.

ENDNOTES

1. MJF data included in the case study were obtained either from officials at the MJF office or from program officials and contractors responsible for the implementation of MJF programs and projects. Data were collected on all programs and projects undertaken through the MJF during the period under study.

2. Government of Manitoba, Manitoba Jobs Fund: Investing In Our Future, Report of the Manitoba Jobs Fund for 1983-84, 3

3. Ibid.

4. Although officials of the Manitoba Government refer specifically to twelve "sectors" of the MJF, these are referred to as "categories" in this report to avoid confusion with the concept of the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy.

5. Government of Manitoba, "Jobs Fund Overview", Manitoba Jobs Fund, no date

6. Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, (Cat. No. 71-001), Ottawa, 1986, Table 63, 97

7. In attempting to establish the wages paid to many of the workers employed in construction trades occupations, difficulties were encountered due to the multiplicity of occupations involved and due also to the fact that, in many instances, private contractors and not program officials were responsible for hiring workers and determining wages. An average hourly wage rate for labourers and tradespeople in Manitoba was therefore calculated. Calculations were based on figures contained in the Summary of Collective Agreements for the Construction Trades, 1982-1984, produced by the Construction Labour Relations Association of Manitoba. The average hourly wage rate arrived at was $16.80 per hour. In calculating the average hourly wage of women and men in the MJF, the rate of $16.80 per hour was used in instances where program officials were unable to either quote or estimate a wage for workers employed in construction trades occupations.

8. Roger Love, Statistics Canada, Household Surveys Division, Survey of Consumer Finances Section, telephone interview, October 1986

9. Information was solicited regarding gender-based wage differentials and throughout the course of this research, no such differentials were discovered.

10. One exception has been Youth Business Start (YBS), a program that offers financial assistance and business training to Manitoba youth wishing to establish new, full-time businesses in the province. When YBS was introduced in the 1984-85 fiscal year, special presentations were made by program officials to three of the larger women's organizations in Winnipeg. As well, YBS information packages were compiled and sent to a variety of women's groups across the province.

11. Isabella Bakker, Women and Economic Development in Canada: Some Methodological Approaches For Assessing The Impact of Economic Policies on Women, Paper submitted by the Government of Canada to the OECD Experts' Meeting on the Impact of Economic Policies on Women, Paris, January 1984, 6

12. Ibid., 6-7

13. United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, Forward-looking Strategies of Implementation for the Advancement of Women and Concrete Measures to Overcome Obstacles to the Achievement of the Goals and Objectives of the United Nations Decade for Women, Report of the Secretary-General, Vienna, March 1985, 19

14. Ibid.

15. See John Kettle, The Big Generation (Toronto 1982); and Dian Cohen and Kristin Shannon, The Next Canadian Economy (Montreal 1984)

16. Cohen and Shannon, The Next Canadian Economy, 44

17. Ibid., 45

18. Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Table 72, 105

19. Ibid., 106

20. Government of Manitoba, Manitoba Budget Address, March 21, 1985, 25

21. Intergovernmental Position Paper on the Principles and Framework for Regional Economic Development, June 1985

22. Ibid., 7

23. Government of Manitoba, Manitoba Jobs Fund, 13

24. Ibid., 14

25. Ibid., 15

26. Ibid., 9

27. George Radwanski, in an interim Report to the Government of Ontario on the service sector, cited in the Montreal Gazette, July 2, 1986

V. THE MANITOBA JOBS FUND: RECOMMENDATIONS

The Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women is committed to the principle that women and men in Manitoba should share equitably in all provincial opportunities and benefits.

It is the position of the Advisory Council, therefore, that all initiatives undertaken by the Manitoba Government must be designed and implemented in ways that ensure equality of opportunity and treatment for both women and men.

The MJF is the major provincial initiative in the areas of job creation and economic development. As such, it is a particularly important example of a government initiative toward which concerted action must be directed to ensure the equal participation of women.

The study of the MJF undertaken by the Advisory Council shows that benefits derived through the Fund have not been shared equitably by all Manitobans. In fact, the study demonstrates that in the absence of strategies aimed specifically at women, the emphasis by the MJF on the primary and secondary sectors of the economy has had deleterious consequences in respect of women's employment. Women have been seriously under-represented within the MJF and those who have gained employment through it have been concentrated in low-paying, sex-stereotyped occupations.

It is essential that the Manitoba Government act decisively to ensure the equal participation of women in the MJF.

The Advisory Council recognizes that the MJF will continue to allocate monies to programs and projects in the primary and secondary sectors of the provincial economy. For women and men in Manitoba to share equitably in the opportunities generated through the Fund, it is thus essential that strategies designed to recruit women workers, and train them in non-traditional employment areas, be incorporated into the MJF.

As Manitoba moves into the post-industrial age, equity, as well as sound economic planning, require that increased emphasis be placed by the MJF on the service sector. It will be necessary to incorporate into programs and projects in this sector, special strategies that include training, the promotion of women

workers to higher job levels, and wage setting practices that reflect the value of the work traditionally performed by women.

To achieve the above goals, the Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women submits to the Manitoba Government the following recommendations and central components of strategies for their implementation.

A. RECOMMENDATIONS

To ensure the equitable representation of women in the MJF, and to ensure adequacy in respect of the quality of, and remuneration for, the work that women employed through the Fund perform, IT IS RECOMMENDED:

1. THAT THE MJF INCORPORATE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AS A CENTRAL COMPONENT OF ITS EMPLOYMENT STRATEGY;

2. THAT THE MJF ENSURE THAT TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY ARE MADE AVAILABLE TO WOMEN;

3. THAT THE MJF PLACE INCREASED EMPHASIS ON THE SERVICE SECTOR AND DEVELOP MEASURES TO ENSURE THAT WOMEN EMPLOYED THROUGH THE FUND ARE NOT CONCENTRATED IN LOW- LEVEL JOBS WITHIN THIS SECTOR; AND

4. THAT THE MJF DEVELOP AND IMPLEMENT A PAY EQUITY POLICY.

B. STRATEGIES FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Central components of strategies required to implement the foregoing recommendations are outlined below.

1. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

An affirmative action strategy developed and implemented by the MJF must include the following measures:

i) Equal Opportunity Measures

Formal commitments to refrain from discriminatory employment practices must be made by all firms participating in programs and projects initiated or extended through the MJF.

ii) Remedial Measures

A communications/recruitment strategy designed specifically to make women aware of MJF opportunities, and to encourage their participation in MJF programs and projects, must be formulated.

The above strategy must incorporate special measures to target specific groups of women such as aboriginal women, immigrant women, disabled women and women who rely on social assistance.

The MJF must place increased emphasis on the provision of training opportunities for women.

Training allowances provided through all MJF training programs must be at a level that represents at least a reasonable substitute for alternate income sources such as wages, U.I. benefits and social assistance. Allowances must also be sufficient to cover the costs associated with training such as those incurred through travel, the need to purchase special clothing and child care services.

Following the successful completion of all training programs for women, employment should be guaranteed for a minimum period of one year.

iii) Support Measures

It is essential that all programs and projects initiated or extended through the MJF include a child care component whereby this service is made available and accessible to program participants who require it.

All MJF programs and projects must develop provisions for flex-time to allow workers to more easily combine paid work with parenting responsibilities.

Support measures must also be developed and implemented in MJF programs and projects to encourage the participation of women who face additional barriers to employment. Language training for immigrant and refugee women is one important example. Access for disabled women is another.

iv) Goals, Timetables and Enforcement: The Private Sector

In all instances in which the MJF allocates monies to private firms and wage subsidy grants to private employers, the Fund must require, through contract compliance, that affirmative action strategies be introduced into their employment organizations. Employers must be required to:

a) formulate, and submit for approval, affirmative action plans which include goals and timetables; and

b) make regular reports available to MJF officials regarding the progress of affirmative action strategies.

It is essential that the MJF develop clear guidelines for intervention in cases of non-compliance and that these guidelines be made available to employers upon application to the Fund. Non-compliance by employers must result in the termination of contracts.

v) Goals, Timetables and Enforcement: The Manitoba Jobs Fund

An affirmative action strategy, as a central component of the MJF, must have as its overall goal that women be represented in the Fund in numbers commensurate with women's representation in the labour force.

A second but equally important goal of a MJF affirmative action strategy must be that women employed through the Fund are distributed throughout occupation groups in proportions similar to the proportional distribution of men.

The MJF must take immediate action to redress its inequitable impact. It is anticipated that a one year period will be required to establish affirmative action as a central component of the MJF. It will likely take an additional year for the MJF to achieve measurable progress in respect of the above two goals.

Prior to the implementation of an affirmative action strategy, the MJF must identify a responsibility centre to monitor the Fund's overall progress towards equity and to take remedial action if necessary.

Statistics regarding the participation of women and men in the MJF must be collected and made available to the public on a semi-annual basis.

2. TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN IN THE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SECTORS

It is essential that sufficient resources be allocated by the MJF, and a strategy be developed, to promote the employment of women in the primary and secondary sectors of the Manitoba economy.

The communications/recruitment strategy referred to earlier will be particularly important in making women aware of non-traditional employment opportunities and encouraging their participation in MJF programs and projects which offer these.

Training in areas such as the skilled trades will necessarily play a central role in the above strategy.

It may be important for the MJF to offer bridging programs that introduce women to non-traditional areas of work. Bridging programs prepare women for the challenges and consequences of making this employment choice.

Training sessions focusing specifically on the barriers faced by women attempting to gain employment in non-traditional areas must be provided through the MJF to all individuals involved in the delivery of programs and projects which offer non-traditional training and employment. This would include employers and contractors participating in the Fund as well as MJF program officials.

To facilitate the recruitment of women into non-traditional areas, the MJF must take responsibility for the development and maintenance of an inventory of women interested in non-traditional work.

3. THE SERVICE SECTOR

A substantially increased allocation of MJF monies must be committed to the creation of employment in the service sector.

Although an increased emphasis by the MJF on the service sector will be important for women in Manitoba, it will not be sufficient for the MJF to simply focus on the creation of additional jobs.

Mechanisms must be developed by the MJF to evaluate programs and projects which offer employment in the service sector. Specifically, attention must be focused on the quality of service sector jobs and priority must be given by the MJF to the funding of those programs which create higher-level, career-oriented positions.

It is also particularly important that the MJF evaluate programs to determine whether the jobs created by them may be affected by technological change. As noted earlier, positions in clerical areas are rapidly becoming obsolete due to changing technologies.

The MJF must provide women with training in the new information technologies. Training programs in a number of different areas will play a significant role in ensuring that women employed through the MJF are able to assume higher-level, career-oriented positions within the service sector.

Although training must play an increased role in the MJF, and this is essential for women with respect to opportunities in the service sector as well as in the primary and secondary sectors, it should be recognized that this has serious implications for non-profit organizations which may wish to conduct business with the MJF. Many of these organizations have limited resources and as a consequence, they may be unable to develop training packages sufficiently comprehensive to meet MJF requirements. Non-profit organizations, however, can provide Manitobans with valuable work experience. It will therefore be necessary for the MJF to take measures to ensure that training requirements do not preclude the participation of non-profit organizations in the MJF.

4. PAY EQUITY

The Manitoba Government recently introduced pay equity legislation in the public sector. A commitment was then made by the government to extend pay equity to Manitoba's private sector.

In view of the recent introduction of pay equity in the public sector, the development and implementation of a pay equity policy by the MJF need only extend to private firms and employers with which the Fund conducts business.

In all instances in which the MJF allocates funds to private firms and wage subsidies to private employers, the Fund must require that jobs created with these monies are paid in accordance with factors such as skill, effort and responsibility and the working conditions under which they are performed.

CONCLUSIONS

Although the attachment of women to the paid labour force has increased dramatically over the past several decades, women's labour force position continues to be a seriously disadvantaged one.

The secondary position of women in the labour force is perpe ated by a number of societal forces. Some of the more significant of these include sex-specific socialization, women's family responsibilities and discrimination against women as paid workers.

An overview of women's position in the labour force, and an understanding of the societal forces which act to perpetuate it, are essential to the formulation of a comprehensive labour force strategy for women. It is the position of the Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women that knowledge so derived leads to a recognition that decisive government action is necessary in the following three areas:

i) MANDATORY AFFIRMATIVE ACTION -- government must move beyond policies of equal opportunity to redress past discrimination and to ensure equality of results;

ii) PAY EQUITY -- because "women's work" is under-valued and underpaid and most women do not work at the same jobs as do men, pay equity legislation is required to close the wage gap between male and female workers; and

iii) JOB CREATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS MUST INCORPORATE THE ABOVE MEASURES.

Job creation and training programs have been identified by the Advisory Council as a third essential area requiring government action for although these initiatives have the potential to advance women's labour force status, they tend, in practice, to benefit men and not women.

It was on the basis of research indicating the differential impact of job creation and training programs that the Advisory Council undertook a study of the MJF, the major provincial initiative in the areas of job creation and economic development. The results of this case study confirm the fact that because it has not incorporated strategies such as affirmative action and pay equity, the MJF, like other initiatives of this kind, has served to perpetuate the

secondary labour force status of women workers.

During the period under study, the focus of the MJF on the primary and secondary sectors of the economy resulted in the under-representation of women employed through the Fund. Even though women comprise approximately 43% of the paid labour force, they made up less than 25% of MJF participants in both the first phase of the Fund and in 1984-85.

The relatively small percentage of women who gained employment through the MJF were overwhelmingly concentrated in low-paying, female job ghettos. Almost 60% of all female MJF participants were employed in clerical, sales and service occupations.

On average, women employed through the MJF earned an hourly wage that was less than one-half of that earned by their male counterparts.

Women have not been full partners in the economic development strategy of the Manitoba Government. The MJF, the major thrust of this strategy, has focused on male-dominated sectors of the economy and not on the service sector, where the majority of women work.

The Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women has made recommendations to the Manitoba Government regarding strategies that must be implemented in order for both women and men to share equitably in the benefits derived through the MJF. These recommendations reflect the position of the Advisory Council that as an integral component of a comprehensive labour force strategy for women, job creation and training programs must incorporate strategies of mandatory affirmative action and pay equity.

Although the Advisory Council undertook a case study of the MJF and has made recommendations specific to it, the inequitable impact of the Fund is not a phenomenon that is peculiar to this initiative, alone. Indeed, with the exception of those few policies and programs which are currently aimed at women, training and employment initiatives of governments across the country tend to reinforce rather than redress the inequalities experienced by women in the labour force.

The Manitoba Government has been in the forefront in promoting employment-related initiatives designed specifically to meet the needs of women. The introduction in 1985 of pay equity legislation in the public sector is a case in point. Although the government is to be commended for the establishment of such policies and programs, it is crucial that strategies to meet the needs of women be fully integrated into all labour force initiatives undertaken by the Manitoba Government.

Affirmative action and pay equity are essential components of a labour force strategy for women. Their incorporation into labour force initiatives is necessary to ensure that benefits so derived are shared equitably by both women and men in Manitoba. It is the position of the Advisory Council that this latter component must be based on an analysis at the policy development stage that takes into serious consideration the impact on women of labour force initiatives. Strategies based on such an analysis must be supported by the allocation of sufficient resources to ensure their implementation and ongoing monitoring and evaluation.

If women are to become full and equal participants in the Manitoba labour force, the Manitoba Government must take a lead role in assuring equity.

APPENDIX:

STATISTICAL TABLES

NOTE:

1. Methodological changes were made to the Labour Force Survey in 1976. As a result, data referring to 1975 and earlier years are not strictly comparable to data referring to more recent years.

2. MJF data were obtained either from officials at the MJF office or from program officials and contractors responsible for the implementation of MJF programs and projects.

TABLE 1

WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL LABOUR FORCE, CANADA, SELECTED YEARS, 1946-1985

YEAR	PERCENTAGE (%)
1946	22.7
1951	22.5
1956	23.2
1961	26.7
1966	31.3
1971	34.4
1976	37.6
1981	40.8
1983	41.7
1985	42.6

SOURCES: 1) 1946-1961: Labour Canada, Women's Bureau, Women in the Labour Force: Facts and Figures, (1973 Edition), Ottawa, 1974, Table 86, p.227.

2) 1966-1983: Calculated from Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics, Cat. No. 71-201, Ottawa, 1984, p.33-43.

3) 1985: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 63, p.97.

TABLE 2

WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL LABOUR FORCE, MANITOBA, SELECTED YEARS, 1966-1985

YEAR	PERCENTAGE (%)
1966	33.0
1971	35.8
1976	38.1
1981	41.4
1983	42.9
1985	43.4

SOURCES:
1) 1966-1971: Manitoba Department of Labour and Manpower, Women in the Manitoba Labour Market: A Statistical Compendium, Winnipeg, December 1981, Table 2, p.9.
2) 1976-1983: Calculated from Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics, Cat. No. 71-201, Ottawa, 1984, p.55.
3) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 63, p.97.

TABLE 3

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY SEX, CANADA, SELECTED YEARS, 1946-1985

YEAR	WOMEN (%)	MEN (%)
1946	25.3	85.4
1951	24.2	83.9
1956	25.1	83.2
1961	29.1	80.7
1966	35.4	79.8
1971	39.4	77.3
1976	45.2	77.6
1981	51.7	78.4
1983	52.6	76.7
1985	54.3	76.7

SOURCES: 1) 1946-1961: Labour Canada, Women's Bureau, Women in the Labour Force: Facts and Figures, (1973 Edition), Ottawa, 1974, Table 86, p.227.

2) 1966-1983: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics, Cat. No. 71-201, Ottawa, 1984, p.220 and p.225.

3) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat.No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 64, p.98.

TABLE 4

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY SEX,
MANITOBA, SELECTED YEARS, 1966-1985

YEAR	WOMEN (%)	MEN (%)
1966	37.0	78.5
1971	41.9	77.5
1976	45.6	77.5
1981	52.2	78.2
1983	54.6	77.3
1985	55.7	76.5

SOURCES: 1) 1966-1971: Manitoba Department of Labour and Manpower, Women in the Manitoba Labour Market: A Statistical Compendium, Winnipeg, December 1981, Table 3, p.10.

2) 1976-1983: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics, Cat. No. 71-201, Ottawa, 1984, p.237.

3) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 64, p.98.

TABLE 5

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUP, CANADA, SELECTED YEARS, 1975-1985

AGE GROUP	1975 (%)	1980 (%)	1983 (%)	1985 (%)	PERCENTAGE INCREASE (%)
15-19 Years	47.4	52.2	50.1	52.1	9.9
20-24 Years	67.0	73.0	74.0	74.9	11.8
25-34 Years	52.9	62.7	67.6	70.7	33.6
35-44 Years	51.5	61.6	66.9	70.0	35.9
45-54 Years	46.1	54.1	58.2	61.3	33.0
55-64 Years	30.8	33.7	33.7	33.8	9.7
65 Years and Over	4.9	4.3	4.6	4.2	(14.3)
ALL AGES	44.4	50.3	52.6	54.3	22.3

SOURCES:
1) 1975: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975 to 1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Table 13, p.153.
2) 1980: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1981, Table 69, p.89.
3) 1983: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975 to 1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Table 13, p.161.
4) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 64, p.98.

TABLE 6

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUP,
MANITOBA, SELECTED YEARS, 1975-1985

AGE GROUP	1975 (%)	1980 (%)	1983 (%)	1985 (%)
15-19 Years	47.2	58.7	57.0	58.2
20-24 Years	67.6	74.5	75.1	78.3
25-34 Years	49.7	63.3	71.0	73.2
35-44 Years	50.2	65.6	70.5	73.4
45-54 Years	51.2	56.7	63.7	68.9
55-64 Years	33.4	39.8	42.8	36.5
65 Years and Over	-	-	-	-
ALL AGES	43.4	51.1	54.6	55.7

SOURCES: 1) 1975: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975 to 1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Table 13, p.153.

2) 1980: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1981, Table 69, p.89.

3) 1983: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975 to 1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Table 13, p.161.

4) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 64, p.98.

TABLE 7

PARTICIPATION RATES OF WOMEN WITH CHILDREN, MANITOBA AND CANADA, 1975, 1980 AND 1985

YOUNGEST CHILD AGED:	MANITOBA 1975 (%)	MANITOBA 1980 (%)	MANITOBA 1985 (%)	CANADA 1975 (%)	CANADA 1980 (%)	CANADA 1985 (%)
Under 3 Years	27.9	39.5	51.8	31.2	41.7	53.9
3-5 Years	39.4	55.1	65.6	40.0	50.1	59.5
6-15 Years	49.2	62.9	73.4	48.2	58.3	66.2

SOURCES: 1) 1975 and 1980: Statistics Canada, Characteristics of Women in the Labour Force, Selected Data, Canada and the Provinces, Ottawa, May 1985, Table A-4, p.14.

2) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 61A, p.94; Labour Force Survey, unpublished data.

TABLE 8

FEMALE LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATION, CANADA, 1971 and 1981

OCCUPATION	1971 WOMEN (000's)	1971 WOMEN/ TOTAL WOMEN'S LABOUR FORCE (%)	1981 WOMEN (000's)	1981 WOMEN/ TOTAL WOMEN'S LABOUR FORCE (%)
Managerial/Admin.	58,305	2.0	202,300	4.2
Natural Science	17,105	0.6	56,880	1.2
Social Science	29,530	1.0	99,045	2.0
Religion	3,710	0.1	8,540	0.2
Teaching	211,120	7.1	290,935	6.0
Medicine/Health	242,685	8.2	403,055	8.3
Art/Literature	21,895	0.7	65,815	1.4
Clerical	940,180	31.7	1,702,515	35.1
Sales	247,760	8.4	467,395	9.6
Service	447,985	15.1	748,260	15.4
Farming	106,845	3.6	107,560	2.2
Fishing	525	-	2,235	-
Forestry	1,415	-	5,105	0.1
Mining	380	-	1,625	-
Processing	59,565	2.0	104,615	2.2
Machining	13,675	0.5	20,900	0.4
Product Fab.	150,205	5.1	226,725	4.7
Construction	5,130	0.2	15,355	0.3
Transport Equip. Operating	8,190	0.3	29,650	.6
Materials Handling	40,455	1.4	55,035	1.1
Other Crafts	13,545	0.5	30,240	0.6
Occupations, N.E.C.	21,730	0.7	31,050	0.6
Occupations, N.S.	319,270	10.8	178,280	3.7
ALL OCCUPATIONS	2,961,210	100.0	4,853,115	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error.
N.E.C.= not elsewhere classified.
N.S.= not stated.

SOURCE: Calculated from 1981 Census of Canada, Population: Labour Force - Occupation Trends, Cat. No. 92-920, Ottawa, 1983, Table 1, p.35-52.

TABLE 9

FEMALE LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATION, MANITOBA, 1971 AND 1981

OCCUPATION	1971 WOMEN (000's)	1971 WOMEN/ TOTAL WOMEN'S LABOUR FORCE (%)	1981 WOMEN (000's)	1981 WOMEN/ TOTAL WOMEN'S LABOUR FORCE (%)
Managerial/Admin.	2,800	1.9	7,755	3.7
Natural Science	775	0.5	1,840	0.9
Social Science	1,410	1.0	5,055	2.4
Religion	210	0.1	270	0.1
Teaching	9,745	6.7	12,155	5.9
Medicine/Health	12,560	8.6	20,130	9.7
Art/Literature	1,010	0.7	2,320	1.1
Clerical	44,235	30.3	68,520	33.0
Sales	12,170	8.3	19,745	9.5
Service	23,965	16.4	36,075	17.4
Farming	10,265	7.0	7,265	3.5
Fishing	-	-	50	-
Forestry	25	-	110	.1
Mining	25	-	110	.1
Processing	1,780	1.2	2,620	1.3
Machining	235	0.2	510	0.2
Product Fab.	6,915	4.7	9,635	4.6
Construction	270	0.2	600	0.3
Transport Equip. Operating	375	0.3	1,225	0.6
Materials Handling	1,610	1.1	1,855	0.9
Other Crafts	765	0.5	1,430	0.7
Occupations, N.E.C.	740	0.5	1,245	0.6
Occupations, N.S.	14,015	9.6	7,035	3.4
ALL OCCUPATIONS	145,900	100.0	207,540	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error.
N.E.C.= not elsewhere classified.
N.S.= not stated.

SOURCE: Calculated from 1981 Census of Canada, Population: Labour Force - Occupation Trends, Cat.No.92-920, Ottawa, 1983, Table 1, p.35-52.

TABLE 10

FEMALE LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATION, CANADA, 1975 and 1985

OCCUPATION	1975 WOMEN (000's)	1975 WOMEN/ TOTAL WOMEN'S LABOUR FORCE (%)	1985 WOMEN (000's)	1985 WOMEN/ TOTAL WOMEN'S LABOUR FORCE (%)
Managerial Admin.	117	3.5	440	9.0
Natural Sciences	30	0.9	69	1.4
Social Sciences	49	1.5	110	2.3
Religion	-	-	7	0.1
Teaching	247	7.4	296	6.1
Medicine/Health	328	9.8	453	9.3
Art/Recreation	36	1.1	66	1.4
Clerical	1,274	38.0	1,641	33.7
Sales	327	9.7	432	8.9
Service	511	15.2	820	16.9
Agriculture	34	1.0	58	1.2
Fishing	-	-	-	-
Forestry	-	-	4	0.1
Mining	-	-	-	-
Processing	73	2.2	87	1.8
Machining	15	0.4	14	0.3
Product Fab.	220	6.6	235	4.8
Construction	4	0.1	12	0.2
Transport Equip. Operating	13	0.4	28	0.6
Materials Handling	51	1.5	57	1.2
Other Crafts	19	0.6	32	0.7
ALL OCCUPATIONS	3,354	100.0	4,864	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error.

SOURCES: 1) 1975: Calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1978, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1979, Table 9, p.47.

2) 1985: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 65, p.99.

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE LABOUR FORCE BY INDUSTRY, CANADA, CENSUS YEARS, 1951-1981

INDUSTRY	1951 (%)	1961 (%)	1971 (%)	1981 (%)
PRIMARY SECTOR	3.4	4.9	4.7	3.4
Agriculture	3.0	4.6	4.2	2.5
Forestry	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
Fishing	-	-	-	0.1
Mines/Quarries	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.6
SECONDARY SECTOR	23.7	18.0	16.2	14.7
Manufacturing	23.2	17.4	15.2	13.2
Construction	0.5	0.6	1.0	1.5
TERTIARY SECTOR	73.0	77.0	79.0	81.7
Transportation/ Communication	5.3	4.8	4.3	4.7
Trade	18.6	17.6	17.5	18.1
Finance/Insurance/ Real Estate	5.6	6.1	6.9	8.1
Community/Business/ Personal Service	39.3	43.5	44.2	43.8
Public Administration/ Defense	4.2	5.0	6.1	7.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error.

SOURCE: Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work, Revised Edition, Toronto, 1984, Table 2, p.27.

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE LABOUR FORCE
BY INDUSTRY, CANADA, 1975, 1980 and 1985

INDUSTRY	1975 (%)	1980 (%)	1985 (000's)	1985 (%)
PRIMARY SECTOR	1.6	2.0	104	2.2
Agriculture	1.1	1.3	68	1.4
Forestry	0.1	0.1	8	0.2
Fishing	-	-	-	-
Mines/Quarries	0.4	0.6	28	0.6
SECONDARY SECTOR	16.6	16.3	689	14.1
Manufacturing	15.4	15.0	619	12.7
Construction	1.2	1.3	70	1.4
TERTIARY SECTOR	81.9	81.7	4,070	83.6
Transportation/ Communication	4.7	4.7	210	4.3
Trade	19.0	18.7	881	18.1
Finance/Insurance/ Real Estate	8.3	8.8	396	8.1
Community/Business/ Personal Service	43.3	43.0	2,239	46.0
Public Administration	6.6	6.5	344	7.1
ALL INDUSTRIES	100.0	100.0	4,864	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error.

SOURCES: 1) 1975: Calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1978, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1979, Table 9, p.47.

2) 1980: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1981, Table 70, p.90.

3) 1985: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 65, p.99.

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE LABOUR FORCE BY INDUSTRY, CANADA, 1975, 1980 AND 1985

INDUSTRY	1975 (%)	1980 (%)	1985 (000's)	1985 (%)
PRIMARY SECTOR	5.8	6.3	409	6.3
Agriculture	2.0	1.9	136	2.1
Forestry	1.2	1.2	77	1.2
Fishing	0.2	0.3	16	0.2
Mines/Quarries	2.4	2.9	180	2.8
SECONDARY SECTOR	36.4	35.5	2,112	32.9
Manufacturing	26.5	26.4	1,554	24.2
Construction	9.9	9.1	558	8.7
TERTIARY SECTOR	57.9	58.1	3,910	60.7
Transportation/ Communication	11.9	11.4	691	10.7
Trade	16.7	16.0	1,100	17.1
Finance/Insurance/ Real Estate	3.5	3.9	245	3.8
Community/Business/ Personal Service	17.4	18.5	1,344	20.9
Public Administration	8.4	8.3	530	8.2
ALL INDUSTRIES	100.0	100.0	6,430	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error.

SOURCES: 1) 1975: Calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1978, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1979, Table 9, p.47.

2) 1980: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1981, Table 70, p.90.

3) 1985: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 65, p.99.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE LABOUR FORCE BY INDUSTRY, MANITOBA, 1975, 1980 AND 1985

INDUSTRY	1975 (%)	1980 (%)	1985 (000's)	1985 (%)
PRIMARY SECTOR	3.8	5.1	12	5.3
Agriculture	3.8	5.1	12	5.3
Other Primary Industries	-	-	-	-
SECONDARY SECTOR	12.6	10.7	21	9.3
Manufacturing	12.6	10.7	21	9.3
Construction	-	-	-	-
TERTIARY SECTOR	81.1	82.3	189	83.2
Transportation/ Communication	5.0	4.6	10	4.4
Trade	20.8	18.8	40	17.6
Finance/Insurance/ Real Estate	6.9	7.1	17	7.5
Service	43.4	45.2	106	46.7
Public Administration	5.0	6.6	16	7.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	227	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error.

SOURCES: 1) 1975: Calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1978, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1979, Table 10, p. 51.

2) 1980: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1981, Table 71, p. 91.

3) 1985: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 66, p. 100.

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE LABOUR FORCE BY INDUSTRY, MANITOBA, 1975, 1980 AND 1985

INDUSTRY	1975 (%)	1980 (%)	1985 (000's)	1985 (%)
PRIMARY SECTOR	12.6	14.2	45	15.2
Agriculture	12.6	11.8	36	12.2
Other Primary Industries	-	2.4	9	3.0
SECONDARY SECTOR	27.0	25.3	67	22.6
Manufacturing	17.6	16.6	43	14.5
Construction	9.4	8.7	24	8.1
TERTIARY SECTOR	59.0	60.3	183	61.8
Transportation/ Communication	14.7	14.9	40	13.5
Trade	18.0	16.3	53	17.9
Finance/Insurance/ Real Estate	2.9	3.5	10	3.4
Service	16.2	17.6	55	18.6
Public Administration	7.2	8.0	25	8.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	296	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error.

SOURCES:
1) 1975: Calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1978, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1979, Table 10, p. 51.
2) 1980: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1981, Table 71, p. 91.
3) 1985: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 66, p. 100.

TABLE 16

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN WORKING PART-TIME BY AGE, CANADA, 1975, 1980 AND 1985

AGE	1975 (%)	1980 (%)	1985 (%)	PERCENTAGE INCREASE (%)
15-24 Years	22.2	27.2	36.0	62.2
25-44 Years	18.9	20.8	21.7	14.8
45-54 Years	20.0	24.0	24.5	22.5
55-64 Years	18.9	24.4	26.9	42.3
65 Years and Over	33.3	47.1	50.0	50.2
ALL AGES	20.3	23.8	26.3	29.6

SOURCES: 1) 1975: Calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1978, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1979, Table 22, p.99.

2) 1980: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1981, Table 85, p.105.

3) 1985: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 80, p.114.

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN EMPLOYED FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME WITH CHILDREN, CANADA, 1976, 1980 AND 1985

YOUNGEST CHILD AGED:	1976 (%)	1980 (%)	1985 (%)
Under 3 years			
Full-Time	68.7	65.7	67.9
Part-Time	31.3	34.3	32.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
3-5 Years			
Full-Time	70.7	69.3	67.9
Part-Time	29.3	30.7	31.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
6-15 Years			
Full-Time	75.4	72.0	71.9
Part-Time	24.6	28.0	28.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error.

SOURCES: 1) 1976/1980: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, unpublished data.

2) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985 Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 61A, p.94-95.

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN WORKING PART-TIME BY INDUSTRY, CANADA, 1980, 1983 AND 1985

INDUSTRY	1980 (%)	1983 (%)	1985 (%)
PRIMARY SECTOR	5.0	4.5	3.7
Agriculture	5.0	4.5	3.7
Forestry	-	-	-
Mines	-	-	-
SECONDARY SECTOR	5.8	5.3	5.2
Manufacturing	4.0	3.7	3.5
Construction	1.8	1.6	1.7
TERTIARY SECTOR	89.0	89.7	90.7
Transportation/ Communication	2.8	2.8	2.4
Trade	28.1	27.2	25.8
Finance/Insurance/ Real Estate	4.1	4.2	4.4
Community/Business/ Personal Service	51.6	52.8	55.0
Public Administration	2.4	2.7	3.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error.

SOURCES:
1) 1980: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1981, Table 87, p.107.
2) 1983: Calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Table 31, p.323.
3) 1985: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 82, p.116.

TABLE 19

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN AND MEN WORKING PART-TIME BY REASON FOR PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT, CANADA, 1980, 1983 AND 1985

	1980		1983		1985	
	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN
	(%)		(%)		(%)	
Personal/Family Responsibilities	17.3	-	12.7	-	12.5	-
Going to School	20.3	55.8	17.7	45.3	19.5	47.3
Could only find Part-Time Work	17.0	19.1	27.6	30.7	27.8	33.5
Did not want Full-Time Work	41.9	16.2	39.1	15.6	38.9	15.6
Other Reasons	3.5	8.4	2.9	8.0	1.3	3.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error.

SOURCES:
1) 1980: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980, Cat.No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1981, Table 88, p.108.
2) 1983: Calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Tab. 32, p.332.
3) 1985: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 83, p.117.

TABLE 20

FEMALE SHARE OF LABOUR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT, MANITOBA AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS, 1966-1985

	MANITOBA		CANADA	
YEAR	WOMEN AS A % OF TOTAL LABOUR FORCE	WOMEN AS A % OF TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT	WOMEN AS A % OF TOTAL LABOUR FORCE	WOMEN AS A % OF TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT
1966	33.0	50.0	31.3	31.5
1971	35.8	39.1	34.4	36.8
1976	38.1	38.1	37.6	44.4
1981	41.4	44.8	40.8	45.0
1983	42.9	41.7	41.7	40.7
1984	42.7	46.5	42.2	42.7
1985	43.4	44.2	42.6	43.5

SOURCES:

1) 1966-1971: Calculated from Manitoba Department of Labour and Manpower, Women in the Manitoba Labour Market: A Statistical Compendium, Winnipeg, December 1981, Table 2, p.9; Table 5, p.12.

2) 1976-1983: Calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force, Annual Averages, 1975-1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Table 15, p.172-179; Table 36, p.361-368.

3) 1984: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1984, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1985, Table 67, p.103; Table 91, p.127.

4) 1985: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 63, p.97; Table 87, p.121.

TABLE 21

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX,
MANITOBA AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS, 1946-1985

YEAR	MANITOBA		CANADA	
	WOMEN (%)	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)	MEN (%)
1946			1.7	2.5
1951			1.8	1.9
1956			1.9	3.9
1961			3.7	8.4
1966	4.2	2.1	3.4	3.3
1971	6.6	5.2	6.6	6.0
1976	5.0	4.4	8.4	6.3
1981	6.5	5.6	8.3	7.0
1983	9.0	9.7	11.6	12.1
1985	8.5	7.9	10.7	10.3

SOURCES:
1) 1946-1951: Calculated from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Labour Force, November 1945-July 1958, Cat. No. 71-502, Reference Paper No. 58, Ottawa, 1958, Table 1, p.12-15.

2) 1956-1961: Statistics Canada, Seasonally Adjusted Labour Force Statistics, January 1953-December 1972, Cat. No. 71-201, Ottawa, 1973, Table 4, p.157.

3) 1966-1971: Manitoba Department of Labour and Manpower, Women in the Manitoba Labour Market: A Statistical Compendium, Winnipeg, December 1981, Table 6, p.13.

4) 1976-1983: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics, Cat. No. 71-201, Ottawa, 1984, p.186-203.

5) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 88, p.122.

TABLE 22

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND AGE GROUP,
MANITOBA AND CANADA, 1975-1985

	MANITOBA				CANADA			
	WOMEN		MEN		WOMEN		MEN	
YEAR	15-24	25+	15-24	25+	15-24	25+	15-24	25+
	(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)	
1975	8.3	4.1	8.1	2.7	11.4	6.5	12.5	4.3
1976	7.7	3.7	8.9	3.0	12.1	6.6	13.2	4.2
1977	9.6	5.4	10.4	3.8	13.8	7.4	14.9	4.9
1978	10.6	5.9	12.8	3.7	13.8	7.7	15.0	5.2
1979	9.7	4.8	9.7	3.1	12.7	7.0	13.2	4.5
1980	9.3	4.7	10.9	3.3	12.6	6.5	13.7	4.8
1981	10.0	5.0	11.1	3.8	12.3	6.7	14.1	4.8
1982	11.1	7.1	16.8	6.2	16.1	8.8	21.1	8.2
1983	12.8	7.7	17.7	7.3	17.0	9.6	22.4	9.2
1984	12.5	7.6	15.3	5.8	16.2	9.7	19.4	8.9
1985	12.7	7.0	15.0	5.8	14.6	9.4	18.2	8.3

SOURCES: 1) Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Table 37, p.369-377.

2) 1984: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1984, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1985, Table 92, p.128.

3) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 88, p.122.

TABLE 23

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, CANADA, 1975-1985

YEAR	0-8 YRS. (%)	HIGH SCHOOL (%)	SOME POST-SECONDARY (%)	POST-SECONDARY CERT./DIP. (%)	UNIVERSITY DEGREE (%)
WOMEN					
1975	10.0	9.1	7.4	5.2	4.9
1976	9.1	9.4	7.8	6.0	5.4
1977	11.0	10.6	9.0	6.4	5.1
1978	11.2	10.6	9.1	7.2	5.8
1979	10.0	9.7	8.3	6.1	5.1
1980	10.1	9.3	7.8	5.6	4.8
1981	9.9	9.4	7.6	5.7	4.7
1982	13.1	12.2	10.4	7.5	6.6
1983	13.1	13.4	11.6	8.6	5.9
1984	13.9	13.0	11.1	8.4	6.4
1985	13.8	12.5	9.8	7.6	5.9
MEN					
1975	7.6	7.2	5.8	3.6	2.2
1976	7.4	7.3	5.5	4.5	2.3
1977	8.8	8.4	6.6	4.3	2.7
1978	9.0	8.6	7.0	4.6	2.9
1979	8.3	7.5	5.5	4.2	2.4
1980	8.6	8.0	5.5	4.4	2.2
1981	8.8	8.2	6.0	4.2	2.4
1982	13.5	13.0	9.7	7.5	4.0
1983	13.6	14.3	11.9	9.2	4.7
1984	13.1	13.0	11.3	8.3	4.6
1985	12.7	12.2	9.4	7.5	4.3

SOURCES: 1) 1975-1983: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Table 8, p.90-106.

2) 1984: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1984, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1985, Table 63, P. 95.

3) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 59, p. 89.

TABLE 24

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND HIGHEST LEVEL OF SCHOOLING, MANITOBA, 1981

SCHOOLING	WOMEN (%)	MEN (%)
Less than Grade 9	6.7	6.2
Grades 9-13, without certificate or diploma	6.8	5.8
Grades 9-13, with certificate or diploma	5.2	3.9
Trades certificate or diploma	5.0	3.1
Some university or other non-university, without certificate or diploma	6.6	5.2
Some university or other non-university, with certificate or diploma	4.3	2.4
University Degree	4.0	2.1

SOURCE: 1981 Census of Canada, Population: Labour Force Activty, Cat. No. 92-915, Ottawa, 1984, Table 3, p.3-18 to 3-20.

TABLE 25

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND OCCUPATION, CANADA, 1975, 1981, 1983 AND 1985

OCCUPATIONS	1975 W (%)	1975 M (%)	1981 W (%)	1981 M (%)	1983 W (%)	1983 M (%)	1985 W (%)	1985 M (%)
Managerial/Admin.	3.9	1.7	3.5	1.7	4.7	3.9	6.5	3.8
Natural Science	-	2.3	-	2.9	9.8	7.6	8.6	5.4
Social Science	-	-	6.5	-	8.4	5.0	7.9	7.0
Religion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Teaching	4.4	2.1	4.3	2.0	5.7	3.5	5.9	3.0
Medicine/Health	3.5	-	3.1	-	4.3	-	4.1	-
Art/Recreation	-	5.6	10.4	9.3	13.5	14.0	12.2	14.2
Clerical	5.7	5.3	6.5	6.0	10.1	10.0	9.2	8.6
Sales	7.3	3.1	7.4	4.3	11.4	7.6	9.8	7.6
Service	9.4	6.4	11.3	9.1	15.3	13.9	14.2	13.4
Agriculture	14.8	8.9	16.4	13.3	21.2	21.8	23.3	20.2
Fishing	-	-	-	-	-	25.5	-	32.4
Forestry	-	22.8	-	24.7	-	29.5	-	33.7
Mining	-	8.8	-	9.4	-	18.1	-	12.6
Processing	17.4	7.9	16.1	8.3	20.6	14.2	20.2	11.0
Machining	-	6.6	-	7.5	25.9	19.5	-	11.5
Product Fab.	11.7	5.7	12.5	6.8	15.0	12.5	14.9	9.3
Construction	-	11.5	-	13.2	-	24.3	-	20.7
Transport Equip. Operating	-	6.7	-	8.6	15.3	13.5	-	11.8
Materials Handling	14.6	10.1	14.3	11.1	17.3	18.4	18.2	14.6
Other Crafts	-	-	-	4.3	16.6	6.6	14.8	6.7
ALL OCCUPATIONS	7.1	6.0	7.7	7.2	10.9	12.6	10.0	10.6

SOURCES: 1) 1975/1981/1983: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Table 39, p.387-395.

2) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 90, p.124.

TABLE 26

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND INDUSTRY, CANADA, 1975, 1981, 1983 AND 1985

	1975		1981		1983		1985	
INDUSTRY	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
	(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)	
PRIMARY SECTOR								
Agriculture	12.8	6.6	14.5	11.9	17.1	19.2	19.8	16.3
Forestry	-	20.5	-	21.2	-	26.9	-	28.7
Fishing	-	-	-	-	-	24.7	-	33.2
Mines/Quarries	-	5.6	-	6.1	-	14.2	-	9.2
SECONDARY SECTOR								
Manufacturing	11.4	6.1	11.2	6.7	14.8	12.5	13.3	9.0
Construction	-	13.3	8.3	14.6	17.2	27.8	14.0	23.3
TERTIARY SECTOR								
Transportation/ Communication	5.5	4.8	5.7	5.2	8.3	8.6	7.0	7.5
Trade	7.2	5.0	7.3	6.5	11.4	10.8	9.9	8.7
Finance/Insurance/ Real Estate	3.8	1.8	4.7	2.6	6.9	5.1	7.0	5.5
Community/Business/ Personal Service	6.5	4.5	7.4	6.6	10.3	11.2	9.7	10.6
Public Administration	5.5	3.5	6.5	4.8	9.1	7.0	9.1	7.7
ALL INDUSTRIES	7.1	6.0	7.7	7.2	10.9	12.6	10.0	10.6

SOURCES: 1) 1975/1981/1983: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Table 39, p.387-395.

2) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 90, p.124.

TABLE 27

AVERAGE DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT
BY SEX, CANADA, 1976-1985

YEAR	WOMEN (WEEKS)	MEN (WEEKS)
1976	13.6	14.1
1977	14.4	14.6
1978	15.3	15.7
1979	14.5	15.1
1980	14.3	15.0
1981	14.2	15.9
1982	16.4	17.9
1983	19.9	23.1
1984	19.8	22.9
1985	19.7	23.1

SOURCES: 1) 1976-1983: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Table 40, p.396-403.

2) 1984: Statistics Canada, The labour Force, December 1984, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1985, Table 95, p.131.

3) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 91, p.125.

TABLE 28

AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE RATES FOR WOMEN AND MEN
IN SIMILARLY DESCRIBED SELECTED OFFICE OCCUPATIONS
IN ALL INDUSTRIES, CANADA, 1984

OFFICE OCCUPATIONS	WOMEN ($)	MEN ($)	WOMEN/MEN (%)
Accounting Clerk, Jr.	321	371	86.5
Accounting Clerk, Sr.	378	454	83.3
Bookkeeper, Sr.	398	491	81.1
Clerk Gen. Office, Jr.	295	376	87.8
Clerk Gen. Office, Int.	349	377	92.6
Clerk Gen. Office, Sr.	408	452	90.3
Computer Operator, Jr.	353	396	89.1
Computer Operator, Sr.	400	468	85.5
Computer-Peripheral Equip. Operator	365	405	90.1
Cost Clerk	370	460	80.4
Data Entry Operator Jr.	310	308	100.6
Data Entry Operator Sr.	353	392	90.1
Draughtsman/woman, Jr.	372	392	94.9
Draughtsman/woman, Int.	459	483	95.0
Draughtsman/woman, Sr.	535	573	93.4
File Clerk	278	340	81.8
Office Boy/Girl	277	292	94.9
Office Manager	499	598	83.4
Order Clerk	352	406	86.7
Programmer, Jr.	452	471	96.0
Programmer, Sr.	552	592	93.2
Secretary, Sr.	349	332	105.1
Stock Records Clerk	334	415	80.5
Systems Analyst, Jr.	585	620	94.4
Telephone Operator	299	308	97.1
Typist, Sr.	322	357	90.2

SOURCE: Labour Canada, Wages and Working Conditions in Canada, Surveys Division, Labour Data Branch, Ottawa, 1985.

TABLE 29

PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS
MANITOBA JOBS FUND
1983-84

PROGRAM/PROJECT	WOMEN	MEN	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE WOMEN (%)
MEAP I	976	707	1,683	58.0
CareerStart '83	2,740	3,647	6,387	42.9 [1]
NEED	39	1,990	2,029	1.9 [2]
MEAP II	864	889	1,753	49.3
Northern Employment	39	692	731	5.3
Northern Youth Corps	28	45	73	38.4
Northern Remote Community Employment Program	32	88	120	26.7
Forestry Renewal	-	93	93	-
Reforestation	-	19	19	-
Mosquito Abatement	8	27	35	22.9
Mosquito Surveillance	6	11	17	35.3
Engineering/Science Grads	5	61	66	7.6
Southern Sewer and Water	7	90	97	7.2
Southern Acc. Cap. Works	-	17	17	-
U of W Field House	1	265	266	0.4
U of M Earth Sciences	-	128	128	-
Cranberry Portage School	-	16	16	-
Crane River School	-	20	20	-
Portage Food Development	-	16	16	-
R.R.C.C. Expansion	-	88	88	-
Parks Development	4	70	74	5.4
Interlake Training Facility	-	8	8	-
City of Wpg. Road Grading	-	330	330	-
Nursing Station Upgrading	-	27	27	-
D.G.S. Cap. Works/Misc.	-	210	210	-
Forest Nursery Expansion	-	32	32	-
Dyke Upgrading	-	22	22	-
Northern Sewer and Water	-	10	10	-
Northern Acc. Cap. Works	-	40	40	-
Municipal Comm. Assets	-	1,804	1,804	-
Wpg. Bible College	16	34	50	32.0
Hwys/Heavy Construction	-	459	459	-
Portage School	-	22	22	-
School for the Deaf,Gym	-	30	30	-
Homes in Manitoba I	69	3,547	3,616	1.9 [3]
C.H.E.C.	14	703	717	1.9 [4]
Creative Playroom Workshop	1	8	9	11.1
Manfor-Sawmill Modernization	-	34	34	-
Multicultural Capital Grants	-	12	12	-
Wood Bison Reestablishment	-	40	40	-
Jobs in Energy	2	42	44	4.5
Coop Mobile Grocery Van	1	1	2	50.0
TOTAL	4,852	16,394	21,246	22.8%

TABLE 30

PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS
MANITOBA JOBS FUND
1984-85

PROGRAM/PROJECT	WOMEN	MEN	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE WOMEN (%)
AGRICULTURE				
Water Services	6	97	103	5.8
FORESTRY				
ERDA Forestry	23	130	153	15.0
SECTORAL Forestry	33	397	430	7.7
ENERGY/HYDRO				
Jobs in Energy	3	455	458	0.7
C.H.E.C.	-	948	948	-
Churchill Hydro Line	-	36	36	-
Limestone Dev. Office	2	-	2	100.0
Limestone Working Group	3	1	4	75.0
Potash Development	-	2	2	-
SMALL BUSINESS				
Trainex, Inc.	1	16	17	5.9
Venture Capital	-	470	470	-
Remote Communities	1	1	2	50.0
Community Dev. Com.	-	1	1	-
Commercial Planning/Dev.	-	1	1	-
Cultural Enterprises (Film Production)	4	1	5	80.0
TECHNOLOGY				
Tech. Commercialization	2	24	26	7.7
Strategic Research Supp Graduate Scholarship	1	-	1	100.0
Infotech	13	16	29	44.8
Tech. Dialogue	1	-	1	100.0
DEVELOPMENT AGREEMENTS				
Toro Canada Ltd.	13	60	73	17.8
Sherritt-Gordon	-	114	114	-

TABLE 30 (cont'd.)

PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS
MANITOBA JOBS FUND
1984-85

PROGRAM/PROJECT	WOMEN	MEN	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE WOMEN (%)
COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT	(inactive)			
TRANSPORTATION				
Road Construction	-	132	132	-
Transportation Dev.	3	6	9	33.0
HOUSING/URBAN DEVELOPMENT				
Homes in Manitoba I	3	141	144	1.9 [5]
Homes in Manitoba II	22	1,149	1,171	1.9 [6]
Homes in Manitoba III	3	131	134	1.9 [7]
Non-Profit Housing	5	264	269	1.9 [8]
Other Housing	1	71	72	1.9 [9]
RentalStart	-	5	5	-
YOUTH/WAGE ASSISTANCE				
Manitoba Jobs & Training	908	873	1,781	51.0
CareerStart '84	2,660	3,734	6,394	41.6
H.R.O.C.	36	77	113	31.9
Northern Youth Corps	73	86	159	45.9
Grads in Business	11	74	85	12.9
Youth Business Start	12	44	56	21.4
I.Y.Y.	10	4	14	71.4
Recognition	-	1	1	-
Child Care Training	50	4	54	92.6
PROVINCIAL CAPITAL PROJECTS				
Accel. Cap. Works (DGS)	-	29	29	-
Canada Food Products	-	113	113	-
Parks Development	-	4	4	-
School for Deaf, Gym	-	10	10	-
Portage School	-	35	35	-
Selkirk Mental Health	-	41	41	-
R.R.C.C. Expansion	-	91	91	-
Northern Nursing Stations	-	7	7	-
U of W Field House	-	35	35	-
U of M Earth Sciences	1	139	140	0.7
Dyke Upgrading	-	63	63	-
Hecla Island Resort	-	250	250	-

TABLE 30 (cont'd.)

PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS
MANITOBA JOBS FUND
1984-85

PROGRAM/PROJECT	WOMEN	MEN	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE WOMEN (%)
COMMUNITY ASSETS				
Southern Sewer and Water	3	17	20	15.0
Cranberry Portage School	-	4	4	-
Crane River School	-	6	6	-
NEED	9	489	498	1.9 [10]
Northern Employment	-	11	11	-
Northern Sewer & Water	-	13	13	-
Man. Community Assets	5	1,000	1,005	0.5
Northern Comm. Assets	22	465	487	4.5
TOTAL	3,943	12,388	16,331	24.1

TABLE 31

DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION,
MANITOBA JOBS FUND, 1983-84 AND 1984-85

OCCUPATION	1983-84 NUMBER	1983-84 PERCENT (%)	1984-85 NUMBER	1984-85 PERCENT (%)
Managerial/Admin.	227	1.1	414	2.5
Natural Science	298	1.4	331	2.0
Social Science	537	2.5	407	2.5
Religion	4	-	34	0.2
Teaching	417	2.0	206	1.3
Medicine/Health	121	0.6	141	0.9
Art/Lit/Rec.	543	2.6	494	3.0
Clerical	1,526	7.2	1,249	7.7
Sales	1,070	5.0	867	5.3
Service	1,813	8.5	1,737	10.7
Farming	1,773	8.4	1,374	8.4
Fishing			23	0.1
Forestry	252	1.2	363	2.2
Mining			114	0.7
Processing	90	0.4	245	1.5
Machining	69	0.3	68	0.4
Product Fabrication	469	2.2	804	4.9
Construction Trades	11,602	54.7	7,009	43.1
Transp.Equip.Operating	100	0.5	82	0.5
Materials Handling	94	0.4	78	0.5
Other Crafts	205	1.0	68	0.4
Occupations N.E.C.	18	0.1	153	0.9
TOTAL	21,228	100.0	16,261	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error and inconsistencies in the reporting of data.

N.E.C. = not elsewhere classified.

TABLE 32

DISTRIBUTION BY INDUSTRY,
MANITOBA JOBS FUND, 1983-84 AND 1984-85

INDUSTRY	1983-84 NUMBER	1983-84 PERCENT (%)	1984-85 NUMBER	1984-85 PERCENT (%)
PRIMARY SECTOR	2,527	11.8	1,841	11.3
Agriculture	2,296	10.7	1,201	7.4
Fishing/Trapping	68	0.3	22	0.1
Logging/Forestry	125	0.6	502	3.1
Mining/Quarrying	38	0.2	116	0.7
SECONDARY SECTOR	12,001	56.2	8,207	50.3
Manufacturing	590	2.8	1,217	7.5
Construction	11,411	53.4	6,990	42.8
TERTIARY SECTOR	6,842	32.0	6,283	38.4
Transportation	103	0.5	72	0.4
Communication	49	0.2	38	0.2
Wholesale Trade	242	1.1	196	1.2
Retail Trade	1,440	6.7	1,323	8.1
Finance/Insurance	98	0.5	76	0.5
Real Estate	93	0.4	97	0.6
Business Service	320	1.5	325	2.0
Government Service	356	1.7	439	2.7
Educational Service	740	3.5	446	2.7
Health/Social Science	1,528	7.2	1,696	10.4
Accommodation/Food	801	3.7	559	3.4
Other Service	1,072	5.0	1,016	6.2
TOTAL	21,370	100.0	16,331	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error and inconsistencies in the reporting of data.

TABLE 33

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY SEX,
MANITOBA JOBS FUND, 1984-85

OCCUPATION	WOMEN	MEN	TOTAL	WOMEN/ TOTAL WOMEN (%)	MEN/ TOTAL MEN (%)
Managerial/Admin.	218	195	413	5.5	1.6
Natural Science	64	268	332	1.6	2.2
Social Science	268	139	407	6.8	1.1
Religion	12	22	34	0.3	0.2
Teaching	145	60	205	3.7	0.5
Medicine/Health	110	31	141	2.8	0.3
Art/Lit/Rec	241	258	499	6.1	2.1
Clerical	991	327	1,318	25.1	2.6
Sales	417	450	867	10.6	3.6
Service	919	818	1,737	23.3	6.6
Farming	237	1,139	1,376	6.0	9.2
Fishing	1	22	23	-	0.2
Forestry	1	363	364	-	2.9
Mining	-	114	114	-	0.9
Processing	33	215	248	0.8	0.7
Machining	4	64	68	0.1	0.5
Product Fabrication	55	743	798	1.4	6.0
Construction	141	6,868	7,009	3.6	55.4
Transport Equip.Op.	5	78	83	0.1	0.6
Materials Handling	8	71	79	0.2	0.6
Other Crafts	28	41	69	0.7	0.3
Occupations N.E.C.	49	103	152	1.2	0.8
TOTAL	3,947	12,389	16,336	100.0	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error and inconsistencies in the reporting of data.

N.E.C.= not elsewhere classified.

TABLE 34

CAREERSTART '84,
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY SEX

OCCUPATION	WOMEN	MEN	TOTAL	WOMEN/ TOTAL WOMEN (%)
Managerial/Admin.	117	93	210	4.4
Natural Science	37	116	153	1.4
Social Science	186	93	279	7.0
Religion	11	19	30	0.4
Teaching	88	49	137	3.3
Medicine/Health	96	22	118	3.6
Art/Literature	45	37	82	1.7
Sports/Recreation	136	138	274	5.1
Clerical	689	261	950	25.9
Sales	325	314	639	12.2
Service	617	631	1,248	23.2
Farming	165	963	1,128	6.2
Fishing/Trapping	-	7	7	-
Forestry	-	4	4	-
Processing	29	78	107	1.1
Machining	3	45	48	0.1
Product Fabrication	21	254	275	0.8
Construction Trades	19	377	396	0.7
Transport Equip. Op.	5	56	61	0.2
Materials Handling	8	63	71	0.3
Other Crafts	21	26	47	0.8
Occupations N.E.C	42	88	130	1.6
TOTAL	2,660	3,734	6,394	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error and inconsistencies in the reporting of data.

N.E.C.= not elsewhere classified.

TABLE 35

MANITOBA JOBS AND TRAINING PROGRAM,
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY SEX,
1984-85

OCCUPATION	WOMEN	MEN	TOTAL	WOMEN/ TOTAL WOMEN (%)
Managerial, Admin.	84	58	142	9.3
Natural Science	5	16	21	0.6
Social Science	72	40	112	7.9
Religion	1	3	4	0.1
Teaching	54	11	65	5.9
Medicine/Health	14	9	23	1.5
Art/Literature	32	29	61	3.5
Sports/Recreation	24	40	64	2.6
Clerical	260	62	322	28.6
Sales	91	111	202	10.0
Service	204	126	330	22.5
Farming	16	77	93	1.8
Fishing/Trapping	1	15	16	0.1
Forestry	-	6	6	-
Processing	3	19	22	0.3
Machining	1	19	20	0.1
Product Fabrication	33	133	166	3.6
Construction Trades	3	40	43	0.3
Transport Equip. Op.	-	22	22	-
Materials Handling	-	8	8	-
Other Crafts	5	15	20	0.6
Occupations N.E.C.	5	14	19	0.6
TOTAL	908	873	1,781	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error and inconsistencies in the reporting of data.

N.E.C.= not elsewhere classified.

TABLE 36

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY,
CANADA, 1975 AND 1985

INDUSTRY	1975 (000's)	1975 (%)	1985 (000's)	1985 (%)
PRIMARY SECTOR	703	7.6	781	6.9
Agriculture	483	5.2	488	4.3
Other Primary	220	2.4	293	2.6
SECONDARY SECTOR	2,474	26.7	2,568	22.7
Manufacturing	1,871	20.2	1,981	17.5
Construction	603	6.5	587	5.2
TERTIARY SECTOR	6,108	65.7	7,964	70.5
Transportation/ Communication	812	8.7	884	7.8
Trade	1,637	17.6	2,001	17.7
Finance/Insurance/ Real Estate	474	5.1	629	5.6
Community/Business/ Personal Service	2,520	27.1	3,648	32.3
Public Administration	665	7.2	802	7.
TOTAL	9,284	100.0	11,311	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error.

SOURCES: 1) 1975: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Table 21, p.225.

2) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 72, p.106.

TABLE 37

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY,
MANITOBA, 1975 AND 1985

INDUSTRY	1975 (000's)	1975 (%)	1985 (000's)	1985 (%)
PRIMARY SECTOR	41	9.8	55	11.5
Agriculture	41	9.8	47	9.8
Other Primary	-	-	8	1.7
SECONDARY SECTOR	89	21.4	80	16.7
Manufacturing	65	15.6	58	12.1
Construction	24	5.8	22	4.6
TERTIARY SECTOR	283	67.9	346	72.0
Transportation/ Communication	47	11.3	47	9.8
Trade	80	19.2	87	18.1
Finance/Insurance/ Real Estate	19	4.6	26	5.4
Community/Business/ Personal Service	109	26.1	148	30.8
Public Administration	28	6.7	38	7.9
TOTAL	417	100.0	480	100.0

NOTE: Columns may not add up due to rounding error.

SOURCES: 1) 1975: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1983, Cat. No. 71-529, Ottawa, 1984, Table 21, p.225.

2) 1985: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1985, Cat. No. 71-001, Ottawa, 1986, Table 72, p. 106.

ENDNOTES

1. No data were collected on the participation of women and men in CareerStart '83. However, MJF officials claim that these figures were very similar to those for CareerStart '84. Because 41.6% of CareerStart '84 participants were women, a percentage that closely parallels that of women in the labour force, it was agreed by the MJF and the Advisory Council that for the purpose of calculating women's representation in the Fund, it would be reasonable to assume that women were represented in CareerStart '83 in numbers commensurate with their representation in the labour force.

2. Data regarding the participation of women and men in NEED were not collected by the MJF. Figures indicating the representation of women in this program were arrived at in the same manner as were those referring to women's representation in CareerStart '83 (see above).

3. See above.

4. See above.

5. See above.

6. See above.

7. See above.

8. See above.

9. See above.

10. See above.